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A Journal of Opinion

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Military Review

SINCE THE PASSAGE of the Rhine the Allied armies on the west have maintained so complete a "security blackout" on news of their movements that not only is it impossible to describe them save in the most general terms, it is also very difficult to determine what the Germans are doing with their remaining valid formations. Quite clearly some of these formations have been escaping. Serious fighting was reported from only a few points. The bag of prisoners, though large, and considerably outnumbering the estimated German casualties in killed and wounded (sure sign of an army that has reached an advanced state of decay), was comparatively small for the extent of territory engulfed, and in actual numbers below what Patton's single army had previously taken in the Saar.

Quite clearly also General Eisenhower did not agree with the newspaper headlines that had his armies running wild through completely shattered resistance. There were repeated minor encirclements and a fairly wide sweeping operation around the Ruhr, but with relation to Germany as a whole, the Allied armies were being held concentrated as for another fighting campaign instead of spreading widely to cut off routes of retreat and hunt the enemy down.

At the beginning of the week of March 26, for instance, Patton's forces had crossed the Main to the east. His patrols were reported in the outskirts of Würzburg and well beyond that place toward Nürnberg, while the First Army was past the sources of the Sieg, moving in the direction of Kassel and Göttingen. Montgomery's army group, we were assured, had broken through and was fanning out. But no fanning out occurred on any part of the front. Most of Montgomery's weight was shifted southward, against the flank of the Ruhr. The bulk of the First Army pivoted sharply to its left to meet the tip of his advance, and at the end of the week was actually farther back toward the west than at the beginning.

If Patton's patrols actually did get to Würzburg (the report came from one of those neutral sources that so often turn out to be getting their information from Berlin), they were withdrawn; he, too, pivoted north and moved in that direction, covering the right flank and rear of the First Army's movement. By the end of the week some of his rear elements were being counter-attacked, in how great strength it is impossible to say, at Aschaffenburg, where he originally crossed the Main. The Seventh Army, like the others, went across the Rhine as though it meant to rush straight east, but at the end of the week was already beginning to turn north on the heels of the Third as the Third had on those of the First. The three southern armies were, in fact, circling north, echeloned out behind each other, each with its right flank a little farther east than that of the one preceding it.

This is not the dispersion one undertakes against an enemy who has nothing left. It is concentration; and the direction of the concentration suggests that the Germans have few remaining troops in the south save those facing the Russians in Austria, but very considerable reserves in the north. When the all-out Norwegian sabotage campaign was launched, coincident with the crossing of the Rhine, it was said that the result was to detain some 200,000 Nazi troops in Norway for the time being, and most of the remaining ships of the German navy have been reported operating in the

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Skaggerak, presumably to cover the operation delayed by the patriot Norwegians. Some Washington sources have mentioned still unengaged German reserves in the north; and the fighting around Paderborn suggests that the enemy may try to build up a position along the line of the Teutoberger Wald, in order to hold the Allied armies as long as possible from the north German harbors and so to complicate their problems of supply.

One of the most interesting campaigns of the whole war has been the intermittent Russian push for Vienna. It is not the first time such a campaign has been made. The Germans were quite evidently relying on historical precedent when they concentrated the defense of that city and of its outpost at Budapest along the south bank of the Danube; this was the route the Turks always took. Last fall the Russians got Budapest and inflicted really serious loss on the Nazi armies by working across the parallel ridges north of the river, then recrossing it to encircle the Hungarian capital. The winter counter-attack deprived them of most of their gains save Budapest itself and its garrison. The Germans showed a great deal of nervousness about those positions north of the river, apparently fearing they would be used as take-off points for an attack straight north through the mountains into Moravia. They concentrated a good many of their forces on that bank, whereupon the Russians returned to the old road of invasion south of the stream and broke through.

The Germans have been more outmaneuvered than outfought so far in the campaign, and Marshal Malinovsky is still making it a war of maneuver by pushing through Sopron toward the valley of the Leitha around the southern end of the Neusiedler See. If he makes it, there can hardly be anything but a disorderly and rapid retreat for the Nazis all along the Danube front—which is doubtless one of the reasons why General Eisenhower does not seem in the least worried about anything the Nazis can bring against his southern flanks.

There is something very rigid and unintelligent about Japanese tactical dispositions. Where there is any room at all for maneuver it seems always possible to catch them by surprise, and Okinawa is just another instance. The real fighting there is only beginning, and to talk of the effect of the attack is to count chickens still well in the egg, but it may be noticed that the importance of the place is less for the bomber

The Western Allies Strike North

At the beginning of the week of April 2 all General Eisenhower's southern group of armies, after penetrating beyond the Rhine, were swinging north around a circle whose pivot-line was approximately Bonn, toward contact with the northern group which was penetrating due east. Kassel was the key point; north and slightly west of it runs the last line of ridges that could defend the north German plain, and along this line of ridges the Germans were apparently intending to make their stand.

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bases that it will afford against the main islands than for the fact that it will permit the severance of the major sea routes serving the Empire, and open the way to the Chinese coast.

What to Do on V-E Day

All over the country, people appear to be talking about how to celebrate V-E Day, and such discussion seems to us both premature and unwise. First, there is no guarantee that the war with Germany will end on any given day with any formal surrender. Quite possibly, we may need to stamp out Nazi resistance little by little over a period of many months. Second, the ending of the military campaign in Europe will still leave us with a multitude of pressing problems on our hands. One of them is the war with Japan, which may easily prove long and tough; despite our recent successes, we have hardly done more than whittle at the edges of the vast Japanese army, firmly entrenched in Manchuria and the home archipelago. What happened when Italy surrendered may give us some idea of the multitude of pressing problems by which we shall continue to be confronted for years to come. If Germany does surrender on any single day, the only sensible rule for Americans should be a few minutes' heartfelt contemplation of the size of the job still to be done, and then back to work.

Freight Rates and the Supreme Court

It is important news that the United States Supreme Court has consented to investigate the charges of conspiracy to maintain high freight rates brought against a number of railroads by the state of Georgia. It can do so without carrying the case up through subordinate courts because one of the parties to the action is a state; but even so, it promises only to investigate, and it takes no action in regard to possible payment of damages. Twenty years ago, when the Supreme Court was conservative, American progressives strongly opposed interference by the Court in matters under the jurisdiction of government agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the body which has power to review all freight rates; and in general this principle is still valid. (The ICC does not, of course, write the many thousands of rates all over the country, but only investigates those brought to its attention by some disgruntled shipper, or those rates or changes in rates which the Commission itself has reason to consider important. In recent years it has almost invariably sustained those rates which went on trial before it.) The Court divided five to four, on what is now called the liberal-conservative grouping. The so-called conservative wing—certainly progressive by the standards of twenty years ago—fears that even an investigation by the Court of conspiracy charges, to which the ICC is not a party, may still constitute improper interference with that body. This attitude would seem to close the door against relief for the South and West, whose industries are notoriously starved by discriminatory freight rates which favor the North and East. Possibly the threat of Supreme Court action may itself suffice to make the ICC do the work it should have done long ago.

War Crimes

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has completed a brief series of hearings on Representative Emanuel Celler's resolution to give real power for dealing with Axis war criminals to the United Nations Commission on War Crimes. Herbert C. Pell, recent American representative on the Commission, testified in support of the resolution, pointing out that neither the United States nor Great Britain has as yet formulated any official policy on this vital question and that if Germany collapsed tomorrow, the United Nations would be completely unprepared to deal with the Nazi war criminals. Although the War Crimes Commission in London has announced that Hitler's name headed one of its lists, our State Department and the British Foreign Office, Pell reveals, have not even bothered to respond to repeated communications from the War Crimes Commission asking for their official positions on establishing a court in which to try Axis criminals. On including crimes against Axis nationals in the list of war crimes, and on other key points, the expert witnesses called to testify before the House Committee were dealt with in such summary fashion that several of the new Foreign Affairs Committee members, like Helen Gahagan Douglas, who are taking their jobs very seriously, protested and asked for extension of the hearings, on the ground that the committee members, and the people of the country as a whole, needed more information on this important subject. The information is still needed and should be given in the course of the debate on the Celler resolution, if not before. Celler's proposal would provide, among other things, for the appointment of additional staff to the War Crimes Commission and is a minimum toward which we can work immediately.

A Labor-Management Code

If capital and labor in the United States don't learn to lie down together like the lion and the lamb, it won't be for lack of effort by Eric Johnston. The irrepressible young president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is, we take it for granted, the man behind the new labor-management charter recently signed by himself, Phil Murray of the CIO and William Green of the AFL (though our Washington correspondent credits Henry Kaiser also). The new charter takes its stand for private enterprise; labor guarantees that it will let management manage and management guarantees that it will continue collective bargaining. This document is of course too simple-

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minded to be the last word. There is nothing in it, for example, that would prevent another 1929 boom and bust, nothing in it in any way adequate if the United States should find itself standing alone in a world where it must compete, in foreign trade and otherwise, with countries all of which have a greater or less degree of planned economy. Nevertheless, we are heartily in favor of such documents as the one just signed. The more business can be put on record as being liberal and friendly toward organized labor, the less chance there is for success for the union-smashing crusade after the war, over which some employers are already licking their lips.

Anti-Smear Bill

Everyone knows that some congressional committees in recent years have shamefully disregarded the civil rights of persons called to testify before them. The Dies and Cox Committees, to name two of the worst offenders, have refused to permit witnesses to be represented by counsel, make statements in their own behalf, know in advance with what they were charged, or examine the record of the hearings at which they were present. Representative Frank E. Hook of Michigan, a good liberal, has introduced into the House H. R. 1834, to prohibit these practices. His bill in no way limits the power of Congress to conduct investigations, but merely stops star-chamber proceedings which may serve, and often have served, to pillory an innocent man, condemning him in the eyes of public opinion with no chance for defense. This is a good bill, and ought to be passed.

General Clay

Washington progressives are hailing the recent transfer of General Lucius Clay from assistant to Mr. Byrnes in charge of our civilian economy, to deputy to General Eisenhower in charge of administering German civilian affairs. It is widely assumed that General Clay has been shifted to relieve an increasingly embarrassing situation in the Office of War Mobilization, where his name was anathema to Byrnes's advisory board, which resented his constant lobbying for the military attitude on all production matters.

General Clay is a professional soldier and no one has questioned his abilities in his chosen field. He should be an excellent man for the difficult task of administering the German civilian economy. That is a soldier's job, for the first phase at least, and Clay's initiative and energy will be useful qualities in performing it.

Mrs. Frank and Her Sorority

Mrs. Glenn Frank, widow of the former president of the University of Wisconsin, wrote an article in the April issue of *Woman's Home Companion* about American college fraternities and sororities. She said they were un-American, snobbish and undemocratic. "I have seen," says Mrs. Frank, "what sororities and fraternities can do to over-sensitive young persons. . . . There is too much sorrow, tragedy and heartbreak when a student outside of the exclusive club cannot enjoy its membership." This is not with Mrs. Frank herself a case of sour grapes. She is a member of Pi Beta Phi—or perhaps "was" is the verb to employ. Mrs. Amy Burnham Onken of Chapin, Illinois, grand president of the sorority, has started expulsion proceedings against Mrs. Frank. She is to be expelled because of "violation of initiation pledges and acts inimical to the best interests of Pi Beta Phi." What is Mrs. Onken trying to do—prove Mrs. Frank's point?

Big Business and International Politics

News with interesting implications: the Republic Steel Corporation is sending out to its mailing list a 47-page reprint of the *Reader's Digest* selections from William L. White's anti-Soviet book, *Report on the Russians*.

People in the Limelight: Mr. Justice Black

The log-cabin tradition is strong in America. It is one of the best things about us that we are willing not only to accept our Lincolns but are proud of them. The rise of such men to distinction and greatness is one of the final proofs of democracy, needed today as much as ever in the past. Few of us live in log cabins today but the tradition they engendered is still very much alive, and no better example could be found than in the career of Mr. Justice Black.

Hugo Black was born in Ashland, Alabama, a village set in the eroded red clay hills of Alabama. That he rose above the poverty and ignorance which surrounded his youth to become a distinguished jurist is the kind of miracle which fosters a live faith in the future of our country. It may not be exceptional that young men of great ability are produced in unlikely surroundings; it is exceptional indeed for them to turn their abilities exclusively to the public service. Hugo Black, early in his career, was notably successful as a lawyer and if he had cared to continue his practice in Birmingham, could no doubt have become rich and respected. But he entered politics instead and ever since he has given all his devotion to public service.

Mr. Justice Black has shown an almost infinite capacity for learning. Admittedly he entered the Senate with the political help of the Ku Klux Klan. Nevertheless he quickly outgrew, if he ever shared, the idea of the Klan. He was a brilliant Senator, so much so that in the eight years since he resigned his membership in the Senate no one has entirely filled his place as a great senatorial investigator. As a Justice of the Supreme Court he has grown in stature. He is a great influence in keeping that court's interpretation of the law liberal, fluid and conscious of the world which lives

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without its splendid marble halls. No better commentary on his career can be found than the fact that those minorities which once thought his presence on the Court jeopardized their interests now regard him as their greatest champion on the home front.

Russia and San Francisco

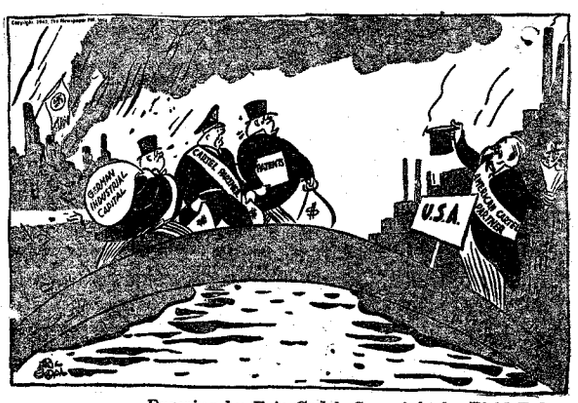
THE COMING San Francisco Conference has just been in the news in at least five ways. It was announced—after the New York *Herald Tribune* had broken the story—that Russia and the United States both intend to ask the United Nations Conference for three votes in the proposed Assembly, instead of one each. Russia also asked that the present provisional regime in Poland be invited to San Francisco even though the reorganization of her government has not been completed; Great Britain and the United States have rejected this proposal. Argentina having declared war on the Axis and announced her willingness to sign all the declarations of the recent Mexico City Conference, the way has apparently been opened to make this strongly pro-fascist, cruelly dictatorial regime a member of the United Nations, entitled to sit in on the deliberations at San Francisco. Disappointment is expressed that the Russian Foreign Minister is said to be too busy to go to San Francisco and that the USSR will be represented only by its ambassador to the United States. Finally, a number of commentators, including Walter Lippmann and Marquis Childs, are saying that the Conference should certainly be postponed, inasmuch as the imminent collapse of Germany will make it impossible for the Foreign Ministers to go to San Francisco, or if they do go, to stay there long enough for serious consideration of postwar questions.

It seems fairly clear that it was the Russian delegation at Yalta who insisted on three extra votes in the League Assembly, and that the Americans then put in a parallel claim only on the ground that they would not dare go to the Senate with a document giving six votes to the British Empire, three to Russia and one to the United States. Why the Russians made this absurd demand it is hard to see: it is unnecessary, undesirable and inexpedient. The Assembly has no real power compared to the Council, where Russia and all other members of the Big Five have the right of veto on every important question. It is not true that Britain has six votes to Russia's one; countries like Canada, Australia and the Union of South Africa can and do vote against the United Kingdom; they are quite likely to stand with the United States, for example, on matters where they are affected as we are. In any case, in an Assembly which will have more than forty members from the beginning, and perhaps as many as sixty in the end, Russia is not much better off with three votes than she is with one. We hope the San Francisco meeting will reject this proposal. But if the nations assembled at San Francisco, which now vote equally, decide to adopt it, we shall not think the world is lost. We are shocked, however, that it was kept secret so long after Yalta and only made public when the *Herald Tribune* revealed the news.

The question of Poland is a more difficult one. It is obviously of great importance that the Poles should be represented at San Francisco if this is possible. Neither the London Government-in-Exile, which has already been turned down, nor the present Warsaw Provisional Government is satisfactory for this purpose. There has been plenty of time since Yalta to reorganize the Warsaw group, and there is still time enough to do so before April 25. If it is true that Moscow or Warsaw—or both—has been sabotaging the effort, this attitude should be strongly condemned. In any case, all possible pressure should be put on now to fulfill the Yalta terms and send a Polish delegation to the Golden Gate.

Many people believe Moscow made the request for a Warsaw delegation, not in the expectation it would be granted, but in order to have a stronger place to protest the admission of Argentina. If so, she has taken a dubious means to a sound decision. Argentina's declaration of war on the Axis is a fake; it may even have been arranged in agreement with Hitler so that the Nazis could have a friend at court. The Buenos Aires regime is 100-percent totalitarian and fascist: it stands for the very things this war is being fought to destroy. Yet so far as can be learned, no effort at all will be made to bring Argentina back to civilized standards before admitting her to the San Francisco meeting.

These developments are disheartening, yet only the most naïve could have failed to expect such things to happen—and you may be sure there will be more of them. Irresponsible people with a Messianic complex will argue that the Dumbarton Oaks plan should now be rejected. The short and simple answer is that if we do this, what the world will then see, at the very best, will be much inferior to Dumbarton Oaks, at the very worst.



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Will They Be Pals Again?

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Tariffs to Help the Peace

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S request that Congress renew the reciprocal-trade-agreement program on a new base is not an isolated economic suggestion, but an integral part of the new structure of peace which the citizens of this country are trying to build.

For many years before the last war, the United States had customarily been a high-tariff nation. We exported agricultural products and other raw materials to the rest of the world, while attempting to reserve the domestic market for our own manufacturers. We sold abroad more than we bought there. We could do this because we were a debtor nation, and the surplus of payments which we earned on foreign trade was used to pay the interest and principal on foreigners' investments in this country. After the war, we were a creditor nation; foreigners owed us money. But we kept on trying to export more than we imported. Instead of reducing tariffs, we raised them, not only once, but twice—the first time under Harding, and the second time under Hoover. The result was that we could not collect the war debts. We made a lot of new foreign investments, and could not collect them either. In this way, among others, we disturbed the economy of the entire world.

The reciprocal-trade-agreement program was an ingenious method of getting the tariff out of politics in this country, and of reversing the trend toward protection which we had formerly encouraged elsewhere. In the old days, tariff revision was done wholesale by congressional legislation. All duties were thrown into the hopper at once, and logrolling reinforced the separate interests in higher duties rather than the general interest in lower ones. Even when reductions were made, they were not necessarily matched by similar concessions on the part of the other nations. The new law delegated to the Department of State the right to make separate tariff agreements, country by country. Reductions could be made up to 50 percent of the rates in force when the program was adopted. Any reduction was then automatically extended to any nation other than that with which the agreement was made, provided this other nation offered to us any trade concessions granted to its "most favored nation." In this way gradual reductions have been spread over a wide area.

The President's proposal is for a renewal of this grant of power to the Department of State—an action which Congress has taken on previous occasions. This time, however, he asks a further provision. The tariffs in force when the program began were terrifically high—the highest in our history. Even after being cut in half, they are still in many cases too high. Moreover, we are exhausting the margin for reduction under the 50-percent clause. He therefore wants the power to base the allowed cut on a later date, when some reductions have already been made.

One of the foundations of peace and prosperity in the future must be an expansion of world trade. Such trade cannot flourish unless this country—the richest and most productive of all—buys large quantities of goods abroad. We ourselves cannot continue to sell more to others than we buy from them unless we are willing to make foreign loans which cannot be repaid, and then to bring on a world depression when the default on these loans causes a sudden shrinkage in our lending abroad. We must begin to plan now to buy as much as we sell, and eventually to buy more than we sell, in so far as foreigners are indebted to us.

Reduction of tariffs alone will not bring about this result. It might occur even over a moderately high tariff wall, if other conditions were favorable. The adoption of fiscal and other policies which will ensure full employment in our domestic economy is the chief desideratum. Nevertheless, the result will be much easier to achieve if we remove obstructions to international trade. Furthermore, other peoples will not believe we are in earnest about our international economic program if, while we exhort them to abandon exchange control, barter agreements and the like, we refuse to reduce our own protective barriers.

The risk of injuring wages or employment in this country by encouraging imports is small, especially if we maintain full employment by other means. Among the important occupations which are not and cannot be beneficiaries of import duties are construction, railroads and all other forms of transportation, wholesale and retail trade, many branches of farming, all service occupations and professions, and even many important sections of manufacturing such as automobiles. We can buy more abroad while we are producing and buying more domestic products. Indeed, there is no other way by which we may increase our imports. Protection cannot produce prosperity; it can only mitigate depression for small and favored minorities.

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A Journal of Opinion

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Why the Food Shortage

FOR THREE YEARS and more food officials insisted that it couldn't happen. They shrugged off demands for such safety measures as stockpiling. Now we are up against a crisis, a real one, one that will cost lives. "Food will win the war and write the peace!" the War Food Administration boasted. But at San Francisco our delegates will have little food to use as bargaining power, and several broken promises to explain.

With the WFA admitting its inability to cope with the situation any longer, Mr. Byrnes has established an inter-agency committee to parcel out supplies. Both houses of Congress have appointed investigating committees. But unfortunately, the damage has been done. All we can distribute now is scarcity.

We shall have about two *billion* pounds less of meat than we had last year. We shall be seriously short of fats and oils, rice and sugar. There will be trouble meeting needs for eggs and canned milk. Canned-fish supplies will be insufficient to make up more than a small part of the meat deficit. Grain supplies are fairly good, but grain is already spoiling in producing areas because of a transport snarl.

The congressional committees will hear many explanations for the decline: prices, feed shortages, lack of machinery and manpower. All have some elements of truth. It is also true that many officials set their sights for 1945 on the assumption that the war would end in '44, and that V-E Day would—for some curious reason—mean a decline in food needs. But explanations grow no crops. The fact is that production is declining; demands are not. Army requirements continue high, and both Britain and Russia continue to need food. Meanwhile the liberated areas of Europe are looking to us for help.

For more than two years experts have warned that this crisis was coming. Perhaps the leading critic of our food policy is Dr. Theodore W. Schultz of the University of Chicago. Speaking before an audience of 600 congressmen and government officials in Washington a year ago, Schultz told them that they had to choose between two risks. On the one hand, they would have to risk having too much, of having some food spoiled in storage or stranded without a market. On the other, they would have to risk having too little, being unable to meet their responsibilities. For a variety of reasons, those responsible have almost consistently chosen to run the second risk.

As long ago as 1942 it seemed probable that, regardless of when the war in Europe ended, the heaviest food needs of Europe would be felt months before military, British and Russian needs declined. This increase in need might coincide with a period of declining production. The only way to meet the situation was to accumulate surpluses at strategic points.

An inter-departmental committee, headed by Dr. Howard W. Tolley, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, gave months of study to this problem, and, in the late fall of 1942, issued a report outlining a systematic program of accumulating stocks. Some commodities could be stored safely for a long time. Others, subject to deterioration, would have to be "rotated," new stock being added to one end of the pile, old stock drawn out at the other. But, although this program had the endorsement of competent officials in many government agencies, it was never acted on. The battle of stockpiling raged for more than a year, but in the end nothing happened.

Meanwhile, the Board of Economic Warfare was attempting to increase agricultural production in other countries, primarily in Central and South America. This was a safety measure, intended both to bulwark the food situation in the United States and to anticipate the European demand. These proposals, too, led to bitter warfare within the government. Here too, the dividing line was the one drawn by Dr. Schultz: Which of the two risks should be incurred, that of surplus or of scarcity? The disputes raged until planting seasons were over and the issues became academic. Most of the projects were stifled.

Scarcity means more than simple hunger. During the war, rigid controls and the shipping shortage have provided a kind of economic insulation between countries; in neutral nations competing buyers of the combatants have driven prices up to fantastic heights. When shipping is again available and controls are relaxed, scarcities can touch off ruinous inflation in the world market.

Surpluses, on the other hand, might depress prices. Surpluses would be a threat to economic stability unless they were managed. Commercial interests always oppose government stockpiling, because it places in the hands of government the power to control prices, through government buying and selling. But surpluses, effectively managed, are a tremendous constructive power. We could use food to help "write the peace" if we had on hand enough to feed the hungry and prevent a speculator's paradise of soaring prices.

However, the commercial interests have had their way, and the cupboard is bare. The declared policy of the War Food Administration has been to work on the hand-to-mouth principle, meeting current requirements out of current production. For several years this policy worked admirably, thanks to bumper crops and also to the shortage of shipping which held Soviet liftings to a fraction of Russian needs. With a good performance record, WFA officials could brush aside wor-

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ried relief officials and foreign buyers with the promise: "When you have the ships, we will have the food." Today there are a few ships to carry relief supplies, but the WFA doesn't have the food.

While representatives of the liberated countries are appalled at the tragedy their countries face, they are almost equally appalled to find that few Americans know what is happening in Western Europe. While some of our newspapers have printed stories reporting hunger, many others have scoffed at the idea that Europeans might need food. Foreign officials here, many with families suffering from malnutrition at home, are enraged at the fanciful accounts of food shops with crowded shelves and of sumptuous meals in Parisian restaurants.

The fact is that, despite promises repeatedly made before liberation, most of the people of the liberated areas are now eating substantially less than they did under Nazi rule. In areas, like Normandy, which normally produce agricultural surpluses, it was to the interest of the Nazis to stimulate food production, even if this meant treating producers well and allowing them to maintain a reasonably high standard of living. Elsewhere, especially in cities, rations were well below the level at which health can be maintained, but the situation was at least relatively stable.

Invasion and liberation were disruptive. There was some direct effect on food production. The invading armies required all available transport, and the movement of food within the liberated areas was impeded. The weather was harsh, crippling river and canal freight movements. Price inflation was rapid, giving impetus to the black market; inflation and the scarcity of goods encouraged farmers to hold back their crops from the market.

How much hunger is there? Not even the governments of the liberated areas can answer that question exactly. One measure of diet is caloric intake. Three thousand calories a day is a good ration for a healthy person, although a man performing heavy labor needs as much as 4,500. At 2,600 calories, life and health can be maintained. In early discussions of relief, 2,000 calories was set as a subsistence standard, a "floor" below which food intake would not be permitted to drop. Nutritionists and foreign representatives protested that this was much too low to permit recovery from the effects of hunger or active work in reconstruction. But even this 2,000-calorie standard has not been maintained, and daily rations of less than 1,000 calories are common. In some cities the ration available through legal channels is below 500 calories, and the measure of survival is the individual's financial ability to buy on the black market.

Unless drastic measures are adopted, the situation will become worse between now and September, because the yields of last year's harvest are almost exhausted. Transport, manpower, fertilizers, tools and feed are badly needed. Yearling cattle are being slaughtered for lack of feed, placing a heavy draft against the future.

The inevitable consequence is a rising tide of bitterness against the United States, a bitterness that can conceivably threaten discussions of world security. Hungry Europeans feel that they have been deserted, that promises made to them have been broken. It is easy for a well fed observer to explain this away on grounds of military necessity, to reply that civilian needs must be subordinated to the military need for ships, inland transport and supplies. The well fed observer is probably right, although the hungry one may point out that British civilian rations have been maintained and that these rations, while not ample, are far better than those in Europe. He may also point out that the European economy could help win the war—that if food and materials were provided so that Europeans could produce and fight, there might be a net saving in shipping.

But when V-E Day comes, the primary issue will no longer be between civilian and military, but between civilian and civilian. The people of Europe want to know whether they will then be allowed to share in whatever food there is, or whether they will get only what is left over. It is not a question of charity. The nations of Europe that have money, and this includes most of the Western powers, want to buy food, not receive it as a gift.

There is no assurance that Europe's needs will be met after V-E Day. UNRRA has announced that in the second quarter it expects the United States to provide less than 5,200 tons of meat; the people of Greater New York eat that much in three days. Allocation figures are secret, but it is no secret that the European food missions are desperately worried.

The conduct of our own officials is not helping matters. Foreign representatives are being harried by a refined version of the Washington run-around. Approaching the food officials, they are told: "Tell us what ships you have, their capacity, the days on which they will go to berth. Then we will discuss what food you may have." But the shipping officials tell them: "Tell us how much cargo you have, what items and where. Then we will discuss how many ships you may have." Supply schedules must be "cleared" through UNRRA, the Combined Food Board, the Foreign Economic Administration and the War Food Administration. There is an endless demand for figures to "justify need." The new inter-agency committee is supposed to "coördinate requirements," although staffs of economists in London and Washington have been doing this job over and over again since 1942.

The past is gone. We have lost forever the food that was not produced in 1944, and the food that was not called for in 1945 production goals. We have lost the edible oils that were allowed to go into the soap-

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kettle and the paint-can. We have lost the meat that could have been canned for storage in 1944, when meat was taken off ration. We have lost the food that could have been produced in Latin America if the BEW's development program had been allowed to go ahead. We have lost the sugar that has been allowed to go into millions of small household hoards. We can only do our best with what we now have.

Ever since the war began, faint-hearted officials have been telling the American people how little they are doing to win the war. Public-relations men have sweated into the night over reports to Congress, painfully thinking of ways to make Lend-Lease shipments seem insignificant. We are giving only a half-ounce of butter per capita and a serving of meat a month, an egg every other Thursday.

President Roosevelt's recent statement was the first to put the issue squarely before the country: Are we going to insist on eating more than ever before while our allies go hungry? Are we willing to make some small sacrifices—of convenience and pleasure, not health—so that they may begin their long road back? That is the issue now; it is too late to do anything else. The people of Europe will get little more than what we deny ourselves of the critical items.

The President's statement was mild, and it was not a radio address. It will have effect only if it is echoed by leaders of opinion and by organizations throughout the country. Like many government officials, many congressmen fear that the American people are soft, that they would not respond to a direct, frank appeal for sacrifice. Unless they are convinced to the contrary, the new investigations may do little more than cover the familiar ground, attempting to discover whether hungry people really need food—if they are not Americans.

JOHN PERRY

Bretton Woods, Pro and Con

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS must soon pass judgment on the Bretton Woods Conference, in which the representatives of 44 nations proposed that there be set up an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is no exaggeration to say that the peace of the world and the future of international political and economic coöperation hang in the balance. Failure of Congress to accept these proposals would have repercussions far transcending even the terribly important immediate issues. It is imperative, therefore, to weigh carefully once again the principal criticisms which have been made against Bretton Woods, to answer them fully and in detail.

Have the plans technical flaws?

The operations of the Bank and Fund are not easy for the layman to understand. With respect to technicalities, therefore, he must take a good deal on faith. For this reason it is vital to emphasize the fact that *no economist, no banker, no international trade expert, whether in favor of the plans or opposed, has been able to find any fundamental technical flaw in either plan.* There are no secret weapons, no hidden tricks. Literally hundreds of articles have appeared on the subject. Out of these, one and one only professed to find a *mechanical* defect in the Monetary Fund—that it would create a world shortage of dollars. This charge has never been sustained. Even those who oppose the Fund are forced to admit that a shortage of dollars would be *in spite of* the Fund and not *because of* it.

Only think what would be the reputation in Wall Street of anyone who succeeded in finding a defect in the Fund's operation! If hostile scrutiny has revealed no technical defects, we may be sure there are none.

Were the plans hastily devised?

Almost three years ago the proposals appeared in their original form. Since that time there have been innumerable conferences between the experts of 30 nations—bankers and central bankers, finance ministers and treasury officials, economists and foreign-trade experts. For five and a half weeks at Atlantic City and Bretton Woods, representatives from all the United Nations spent 15 hours a day going over every detail of the proposals.

Throughout, the interested public has been in on the debate. People, such as myself, with no official or unofficial connection with any of the discussions, have been able to keep informed as to every question involved. Congressional representatives were at the conferences, and in the half year which has since elapsed, every member of Congress has had full opportunity to steep himself in the relevant issues. The notion that six months from now new wisdom will be forthcoming simply cannot be taken seriously.

Do the plans involve a radical departure from the gold standard?

For a short period before the First World War most of the nations of the world were on the gold standard. Although it did not work automatically or without friction, the gold standard did operate tolerably well and did provide a measure of international stability. But between the two world wars the gold standard could not be reconstituted. In no five-year period were all of the important nations able to stay on gold. We could not go back to pre-1914 gold-standard "normalcy" prior to this war, and even less do we have the choice in the years ahead. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressing the clear sentiment of

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the conservative and liberal public of that country, has said bluntly, "Certainly the attitude of His Majesty's present government would be one of most vehement opposition to any suggestion that we should go back to the gold standard."

The gold standard is thus not a practical alternative to Bretton Woods. If America rejects the Fund, Britain and the other nations of the world will be driven into exchange control, bilateralism and empire autarchy. Competitive exchange depreciation and instability will be the order of the day. Everyone will lose out, but the United States stands to lose most.

Actually the dominant members of the United Nations have a vital stake in gold; the Axis powers do not. The United States holds more than $20 billion of gold. Russia and the British Empire are great gold-producing units. Partly in recognition of this fact the United States, or "White," plan won out at Bretton Woods over the Keynes clearing plan. Gold rather than "Unitas" or "Bancor" is to be the unit of account in the proposed Fund. Those who favor the gold standard should welcome the Bretton Woods compromise as the closest attainable approximation to what they desire. Those who dislike the rigidities of the gold standard will find most of their objections satisfied.

Let us see exactly what this means in concrete terms. Suppose after the last war, the Bretton Woods proposals had been adopted. This could only have been done over the strong objections of the banking community—and this time the British bankers would also have opposed the plans. Among them would have been Montagu Norman, the so-called mysterious mastermind of the Bank of England, whose efforts to restore the prewar gold standard were to end so disastrously. W. Randolph Burgess, the spearhead of the present opposition to Bretton Woods, who was then a younger and wiser man, would probably also have been opposed. Suppose, nevertheless, the plans had been adopted. How would the tragic farce of international finance have developed? Would those who like the gold standard be better or worse pleased with the results?

First, at the end of the war, there would have been a meeting to determine the new par values of all the world's currencies. The English pound would not have wobbled for five years after 1920; or the French franc for seven years. More important, Winston Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would not in 1925 have made the colossal financial blunder of giving the pound the old 1914 gold content. Believe it or not, the bankers of that day came out in favor of the same parity level as eleven years before, even though in the meantime Britain had lost much of her foreign investments, her price level had greatly increased, and the whole world price situation had changed. As a result of this incredibly stupid overvaluation of the pound, England suffered depression all through the late twenties when the rest of the world was prosperous. And to what avail? By 1931 her finances had become so strained that she was forced off the gold standard anyway, carrying the rest of the world with her. All this helped, of course, to create the world depression which was an important cause of the present war.

If the Monetary Fund had been in operation in the days after 1925, the mistaken overvaluation would not have been so serious. Britain would have been able to offset her loss of exports by internal expansionary policies. Undoubtedly a chronic adverse balance of trade would have resulted and the overvaluation would have been recognized. An orderly 10-percent depreciation of the pound would automatically be permitted. If the disequilibrium still persisted, a careful survey by the Fund authorities would decide whether further depreciation was desirable. If so, an orderly transition to a new level would be facilitated. Stability with flexibility is the keynote of the Fund—strength without brittleness. Most important, the other members of the Fund would be protected against the British depreciation by the requirement that the country which depreciates its currency must restore the previous gold value of its contributions to the Fund by making up the difference. Finally, the recurring fear throughout the twenties of a world shortage of gold and a falling price level could have been met by an all-around devaluation with respect to gold involving no relative depreciation of any currency. In the great depression such a proviso would have been a godsend.

Is it any wonder that economists, most of whom are very conservative admirers of the gold standard and still regard Roosevelt's abandonment of it as the crime of '33—is it any wonder that they are nevertheless today preponderantly in favor of Bretton Woods?

And is it any surprise that organized banking is opposed? Thus far bankers have had a clean record. They opposed formation of the Federal Reserve System. They opposed the Securities Exchange Commission. Most unbelievable of all, they actually opposed the creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation! Within the realm of their own operations, they peddled foreign loans in the twenties which in retrospect—and at the time—no sane man could expect would be repaid. Even in their own interest, were they wise in pursuing any of these policies? One sometimes wonders whether more than good penmanship is required for the banking profession. Certainly, of the 50 committee members whose names grace the publication of the American Bankers' Association criticizing Bretton Woods, not 10 have any pretensions toward expertness, and not 5 could pass an examination on Bretton Woods or on the gold standard or on exchange control. Of course, these are *ad-hominem* arguments as irrelevant as those on the other side. Certainly,

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Secretary Morgenthau could not meet the above requirements, and certainly Dean John H. Williams could. But if an appeal to authority is made, let us be accurate and call a spade a spade, a goose a goose, and a boob a boob.

Is Uncle Sam a Santa Claus?

The most frequently heard argument against Bretton Woods is the charge that the Fund is too large and is based upon unsound credit practices which inevitably will be abused, leaving Uncle Sam holding the bag. These arguments take many different and inconsistent forms, with logic extravagantly omitted in all cases. Nevertheless, because they mirror fundamental visceral distrust of government, they cannot be dismissed lightly and need yet once again to be refuted.

The Fund is considered unsound in comparison with the Bank because under it countries can "automatically" borrow—a credit practice which is supposed to be inconsistent with traditional banking precepts. Even if true, taken by itself this would not constitute a very grave charge. Central banking has always—even in the days of Mellon and Strong—been based upon principles different from traditional banking practice, in exactly the same way that social security is everywhere operated on principles which differ from actuarial private insurance. But in point of fact, there are definite limitations upon the amount and duration of each country's borrowings. Only one-quarter of a country's quota is open to "automatic" borrowing in even a limited sense, and in view of the over-all safeguards built into the Fund and the desirability that each country shall have a sense of liquidity and certainty, this semi-automatic feature can be defended on its own merits.

What the critics really want is to institute a new "dollar diplomacy" in which under the guise of sound banking practice, pressure will be put upon other governments to conform to what the United States, and more specifically, Wall Street, thinks to be sound political action. It would be most unwise from the standpoint of international amity for us to undertake such policies even if we could get away with them. Actually, no one with his feet on the ground seriously believes that the rest of the world would acquiesce.

That the critics of Bretton Woods are less than honest is nowhere better revealed than in the simultaneous charges: (1) Numerous countries have acquired during the war huge dollar and gold holdings making the proposed fund unnecessarily large. (2) The Fund will be exhausted within two or three years and the United States will be asked to pony up more gifts. Logically, these arguments are inconsistent and self-canceling, adding up to exactly zero.

The maximum United States liability under the Fund of some $3 billion is clearly defined. If necessary, this would not be an excessive price to pay for international stability. But there is no reason to believe that it will be necessary. No further assistance without our consent can be made and there is no prospect that any will be asked of us.

It is sometimes suggested that the Bank be given the power to make stabilization loans and that the Fund be abolished. Actually, the Bank does have the power to provide such loans, making the CED's recent concern on this point unnecessary. But this only supplements the Fund's credit operations. Moreover, the most important functions of the Fund lie outside the field of credit completely. It provides a mechanism for international coöperation toward national policies making for free and stable world trade.

Shall Bretton Woods be amended?

The opponents of Bretton Woods realize that every index of public opinion shows the American people to be in favor of its objectives. Therefore, it is considered the better part of wisdom not to come out directly against the plans, but simply to propose a few amendments. Thus, the American Bankers' Association, which has been the single most active group fighting Bretton Woods, entitled its publication "Practical International Organization through Amendments to Bretton Woods Proposals." Twenty-five years ago, Henry Cabot Lodge, realizing that the American people were overwhelmingly in favor of the League of Nations, resolved explicitly to kill it by reservations rather than by direct opposition. How well he succeeded and at what grievous cost is a simple matter of history.

We must not make the same mistake this time. Today it is literally a case of all or nothing at all, of now or never. If the Bretton Woods proposals are better than nothing, they should be accepted whether or not they are considered to be perfect. Thus the recent friendly suggestion of the CED to amend the proposals would have been unfortunate were it not for the fact pointed out above that the present wording of the agreements appears to meet their objectives adequately. There is simply no practical machinery by which an international agreement, once formulated, can be modified. A second conference cannot be held, and if it could the same problem would again appear, leading to a perpetual merry-go-round. To try now to introduce minor changes will necessarily lead to the defeat of the whole enterprise. Every line in the two proposals represents a precise balance of compromise among all of the participating nations. Until adopted, the whole structure is an unstable one. Remove one part and the whole thing collapses. We would not accept unilateral reservations by other countries at this stage; we cannot expect that of them.

Isolationism is the only real issue now before Congress. If there is a clear line of demarcation between the friends and enemies of international monetary cooperation, the plans will be accepted. But if enough votes are found to kill them, let those responsible for the resulting international anarchy be clearly recognized.

PAUL A. SAMUELSON

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Anti-Nazi Germans

As the Allied armies race through Germany, eight to ten thousand German soldiers along the western front are daily laying down their arms and seeking shelter in prisoner-of-war camps. When American soldiers carried a wounded Volkssturmer into his mother's house in Coblenz, she kissed the Yank who had shot her son, "causing much embarrassment." A 20-year-old German girl risked her life to give first aid to wounded Americans at Griesbach on the Remagen bridgehead. She was shot for it and her home was burned by order of a Nazi captain, but she survived, and for grateful Americans there was no fine for fraternizing in this case.

There is considerable evidence that these are not isolated instances. Reports of executions for anti-Nazi activity, ranging all the way from cursing Hitler to treason, are mounting. Out of the growing confusion, terror and hunger in Germany have come persistent accounts of mass violence, quickly put down by the Gestapo. In 1943 the Nazi people's courts, according to official German sources, pronounced 5,336 death sentences. Of these, 1,853 were for high treason and undermining the morale of the fighting forces. These figures do not include the death sentences passed by ordinary courts or the executions without trial by the Gestapo and Elite Guards, nor do they include the murders and alleged suicides in concentration camps and at police headquarters. According to the Zurich, Switzerland, *Weltwoche* of August 18, 1944, more people were executed daily from July 20 on—after the bombing attempt on Hitler—than in the days of Robespierre's reign of terror.

In Bremen thousands of war workers, both foreign and German, recently staged an anti-Nazi strike, ending, as always, in bloody clashes with SS troops. Disorders in Munich developed into a pitched street battle with tank-supported SS units called up after Munich policemen refused to fire on the crowds. In Frankfurt-am-Main dockworkers rioted and joined a hunger demonstration, and 2,000 people marched on the prison to demand the release of political convicts, calling on soldiers to join them. In Magdeburg an uprising of foreign workers was supported by German workers. In Slovakia the German population of two small towns, armed by the Nazis to fight the Partisans, made off with guns and joined the Partisans. After an Allied air raid on Cologne, six high Nazi officials were lynched during a riot, and thirty civilians were hanged in public.

These are the beginnings of concerted mass action, and the Germans are getting a taste of what revolution can be like. A 17-year-old private, shot down by his own officer while surrendering to Americans, told his captors: "If he is alive after the war I shall find him somewhere in Germany, and when I do I shall kill him." At the port of Bremen, sailors who had been dragged off their ships for army duty on the eastern front, barricaded themselves in barracks. The revolt ended in a fight against the Elite Guards. Clashes occur between army and SS units, fresh recruits and regular army units, Elite Guards and Volkssturm.

Significant was the recent Nazification of the German army last November, when a decree urged Nazi officers and non-coms to educate their men in Nazi philosophy, on and off duty. A secret circular of the German High Command which has fallen into Allied hands also indicates the Nazis' distrust of the common soldier. It called for action against underground soldiers' "groups" or "committees" (much like the secret workers' councils) and warned that these unions were organized against the officers for the purpose of leading troops to disobedience and surrender.

Outbursts and threats against authority have become common on the home front. A Berlin woman, for instance, was sentenced to death for calling Hitler a mass murderer after her 17-year-old daughter, an ambulance driver, was killed in a raid. Another woman standing in line in a Berlin market place said loudly: "If the Nazis slaughter my children now . . . I'll tear this madman's eyes out." When frightened bystanders attempted to soothe her, she said: ". . . Just because we were always silent this crazy corporal was able to do what he liked." Other women in the line shouted agreement. When Gestapo headquarters on Berlin's Prinz Albrechtstrasse was hit, workers rushed to the spot in triumph; one of them said, "Führer, we thank you." (This phrase was often used in sarcasm, even before the outbreak of war, when I was in Germany.) Berliners often exchange flats and register under false names after having been bombed out, in order to evade the police.

The German masses are confused and panicky, vengeful and sick of war. But there exist also the politically educated and active anti-Nazi groups, mostly Communists or Social Democrats. Among the victims of mass executions in Hamburg, Berlin, Stuttgart and other cities, some belonged to underground cells. On the same day that Ernst Thaelmann, former Communist leader, and Rudolf Breitscheid, a leading Social Democrat, were killed, peace riots broke out in Berlin—hardly a coincidence. Coöperation among the various anti-Nazi political factions has been reported by members of the German labor underground now in neutral countries. A Swedish trade-union member reported systematic slowdown and sabotage in plants where anti-Nazi workers succeeded in establishing relations with French and Russian workers. As early as November

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23, 1942, 14 former Social Democrats were executed after 10 years of activity in the underground. The BBC called the court's verdict "the first official acknowledgment that a secret organized opposition of considerable strength exists in Germany."

German underground newspapers, *Der Durchbruch*, *Die Innere Front* and a miniature imitation of the former *Frankfurter Zeitung*, among others, are now being circulated in Germany. Chain-letters have cropped up in such numbers that the Nazi press was forced to issue severe warnings. Radio Atlantic, the anti-Nazi underground station, announced unsuccessful attempts to assassinate the Chief of Police of Berlin and the Gauleiter of Gau Mosel, who was responsible for shortening the air-raid alarm to 10 minutes, forcing workers to remain at their posts until the last possible moment.

The most hopeful and unexpected news to come out of Germany tells of the formation of revolutionary anti-Hitler youth movements, which have sprung up spontaneously inside the compulsory Hitler Youth organization. The most famous of these is the Edelweiss movement, particularly widespread in the Rhineland. Its members hate the Nazi Party and aim to destroy the Hitler Youth movement, which they find corrupt and dull. They waylay young Nazis and beat them up, raid military depots and join Volkssturm units to get weapons, slash the tires of cars belonging to Nazi leaders and aid the Allies in harassing the common enemy. They are said to be responsible for the notices chalked up on lamp-posts—"Capacity: Two SS Men."

In Krefeld at least 30 percent of the Hitler Youth were secret Edelweiss members. In Eschweiler the Gestapo arrested and tortured three of the boys in an attempt to get information. They got none. A British broadcast has told foreign workers in Germany to get in touch with young members of this movement, who could be recognized by the paper flowers pinned inside their lapels, adding that they were "risking their lives and their liberty" to fight Nazism. Other equally militant anti-Nazi youth groups are romantically named: "The Three Iron Arrows," "The Pack," "The Texas Band," "The Falcons," "The White Rose," "The Navajos," etc.

On April 1, 1944, Reich Youth Leader Arthur Axmann created Youth Control Offices in every district of Germany to combat these anti-Nazis. Hitler Youth Patrols had to keep a close watch on unorganized hikers, and the concentration camp at Neuwied was reserved exclusively for teen-age boys. Police camps were set up for "protection of the youth." A Swiss traveler reported seeing Edelweiss youth herded into police cars for shipment to internment camps. The earliest evidence of much organized anti-Nazi youth was in 1939, and at a trial in that year a Gestapo agent testified that at least two thousand boys and girls throughout the Reich were organized in "The Pack."

The Edelweiss and corresponding youth groups are romantic, confused, idealistic and militant. They do not dream, like the early Hitler Youth disciples, of conquest or even defense of the Vaterland, but of another world they describe vaguely as being "free." They want "some kind of freedom." A 17-year-old member of "The Pack" said: "Who the hell wants to spend all his time marching, drilling, doing service and the rest of the damn foolishness? That's no life." This was at a time when the German armies were still victorious.

It is not known whether there is a relationship between the Edelweiss and the university student movements which, with their intellectually superior resources, have led in effective anti-Nazi activity. The best-known example of student opposition was the revolt at the University of Munich early in 1943, after which the student leaders, including a Stalingrad veteran, were executed. The unrest spread from Munich to other universities, at Freiburg, Heidelberg, Berlin and Leipzig. Last February the BBC reported that survivors of a secret student organization first heard of in 1943 were distributing pamphlets called "Letters of the White Rose." Students also distributed booklets, advising soldiers on how to become unfit for military service, and pamphlets quoting from Karl Marx and August Bebel. One in every four or five German students is believed to hold anti-Nazi ideas. A recent report said that Bonn University students were instrumental in delivering the bridge at Remagen intact to advance units of the American First Army. It would appear that the conception of a German Maquis has become reality.

What are we going to do with the young anti-Nazis? They may be the healthiest element in the German population. They will work at the reconstruction of German and European society, at building up what their fathers have torn down. But will this work be a punitive measure, disillusioning them for a second time and paving the way for another dangerous generation of Germans? Or will they be allowed to stand on their own feet and retain their dignity as men and women striving toward a peaceful and better Europe? Nazi indoctrination of the youth has been less permanent and less successful than we thought before the invasion of Germany. It should be noted that the bulk of university students during the war were German soldiers home on furlough or discharged veterans, some of whom participated in the student revolts.

A psychological task force attached to the American army in Germany has reported that the most astonishing thing about the Germans was their lack of nationalism. This was also true of teen-agers, whom they expected to be thoroughly indoctrinated and fanatical. Young girls, when asked how they felt about marrying foreigners or Jews, said that this was not a matter of race, but of love. A printer, the father of an SS man,

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said: "If the SS must be executed as war criminals, let them execute him too." One of the task-force members concluded: "They were waiting for us as liberators. And they were quite distressed by our non-fraternization policy. Many of these people had hoped we would pick the Nazis and punish them, instead of treating all Germans as equally guilty."

This is not surprising. The worst fear of anti-Nazis I knew in the Rhineland as late as 1940 was that the Americans, when they came, would not recognize them as enemies of the regime, and that Nazi officials would find protection and anonymity in an over-all assumption of German war guilt. It was discovered recently that the Eschweiler citizen chosen by the AMG for mayor was a Nazi, formerly a disciplinarian for Russian and Polish laborers. Eschweiler factory workers went to American headquarters in a body and exposed him. The coöperation of anti-Nazi elements in Germany will prove not only useful, but necessary. Genuinely democratic, Socialist and Communist anti-Nazi forces should be encouraged, together with the earnest, if confused, anti-Nazis among the youth. If we deprive them of the right to help in ridding their own country of the Nazi scourge, we are not only depriving ourselves of useful coöperation, but depriving them of their eagerness to vindicate Germany. If we insist on treating all Germans alike, we will have a growing cancer in the heart of Europe.

ELLEN MARSH

Controls after Victory

ADMINISTRATION LEADERS in Washington are seriously alarmed over the possibility that our victory in Europe may bring with it disaster for our civilian economy. Reconversion plans which labor and progressives have long been demanding are still incomplete. The military chiefs oppose any discussion of reconversion on the ground that such shift-overs will damage war workers' morale; they remain indifferent to the economic necessity of planning jobs for those whose war work will end as contracts are cut back. A huge pressure bloc of manufacturers and farmers is lining up with many die-hard Republicans in Congress to lift the lid on price control immediately following V-E Day. Unless the machinery for civilian reconversion is set in motion now and unless wartime controls on production and prices are retained for the time being, V-E Day can be the beginning of inflation and unemployment.

Politicians, profiteers and short-sighted generals who are opposing orderly reconversion have either forgotten what happened after World War I or else have reached a new high in irresponsibility. The last time, government controls were tossed overboard immediately after the Armistice. Four million servicemen were demobilized; nine million war workers were out of jobs in short order. The government had no plans for absorbing these people, for it was thought that, left to themselves, free enterprise and competition would quickly produce a smooth-running economy again. What happened was that by June, 1920, living costs had risen 108 percent over 1914 prices—a 46-percent increase after Armistice Day. Wholesale prices climbed 148 percent above prewar levels. Wages, farm income and business earnings climbed for a while too. Then, within 22 months, factory payrolls were off 44 percent; net farm income dropped 66 percent; half a million farmers lost their farms; corporate profits after taxes dived from $6.5 billion in 1919 to a net loss of $55 million in 1921. After the collapse began, an effort was made to restore the controls that had been thrown off, but it was too late.

That is what happened before without plans or preparation. This time there are plans of a sort. They are not coördinated. They are not adequate. This is about the way they stand today.

The War Production Board. – Since before our entry into the war, the WPB has been engaged in a running quarrel with military chiefs over how to manage our defense and, later, our war production program. The WPB was always caught in the middle, for it was charged with supplying American civilians as well as the armed forces with what they needed. In trying to serve both groups, the WPB was doomed never to please either. Civilian production officials have found it difficult to deal with military men, since by training the military overestimate their needs and by habit they underestimate the American civilian. Thus army and navy procurement officials throughout the war have made it a policy to ask for everything they thought they had a chance to get, and they have never been willing to rely on long-range production scheduling because they did not trust civilian workers to stay on their jobs in a pinch. Few civilians have ever dared tangle with the generals on these points or to call attention to the resultant waste or loss to the civilian economy.

The WPB and the military have never been able to agree about reconversion, and for the same basic reasons. Donald Nelson's major achievement as chairman of the WPB was in maintaining some balance between military and civilian demands. In the summer of 1944, when surplus materials began to appear on the market, Nelson authorized a survey, over the protest of the military, to discover what consumer goods were in greatest demand. Later, Nelson recommended a four-

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point reconversion plan which contained a proposal for "spot authorizations" of civilian production in plants freed from war work, where labor was available. The military men howled. Any restoration of civilian production would make people too optimistic about the war, and therefore too lazy, they said. The unemployment slack which the "spot-authorization" plan was designed to remedy bothered the generals not at all, for following through with the army philosophy of always having more than enough, some reserve of unemployed American manpower is a good thing, too.

The military and their supporters within the WPB managed to hold up Nelson's reconversion starter for a while, and then Nelson was shipped off to China. WPB vice-chairman Charles E. Wilson resigned under fire for having helped the military pull off this coup. Julius "Cap" Krug was recalled from the navy in August, 1944, to succeed Nelson. Soon thereafter the army banned any further talk of reconversion. From then until our armies crossed the Rhine a few weeks ago, Krug has been little more than a military rubber stamp.

Now Krug is beginning to talk about reconversion. To go beyond the talking stage he will have to have detailed information from the military on their plans for war-contract cutbacks after V-E Day. As yet these basic facts have not been trusted to the WPB's civilian experts. But there is reason to believe that Krug will soon have this information; then some detailed plans can be made—but not before.

Whatever reconversion plans Krug prepares will have to include retention of the necessary controls to guarantee to the designated civilian manufacturers the materials and manpower they require. Many industrial groups will exert their full strength to do away with priorities and all other production controls before reconversion progresses far. Mr. Krug has not yet made clear his position on this vital point, but the facts give him no alternative: Recent estimates indicate that military cutbacks following V-E Day will probably permit less than a 20-percent reconversion to peacetime goods, and production experts report that it will be dangerous to remove production controls until United States military demands and Lend-Lease requirements together shall have been cut by 50 percent.

Price and Wage Plans.—Chester Bowles, director of the Office of Price Administration, plans to work the OPA out of a job as soon as possible after V-E Day. But before price controls are removed, the OPA wants to reëstablish a 1942 price level and see that it is maintained. This policy is being referred to in Washington as "selective decontrolling," or letting go of the reins a little at a time. Back of Bowles's policy is the Administration's fundamental belief that it is the government's job after the defeat of Germany to encourage increased production of civilian goods and sustain civilian buying power if unemployment is to be prevented.

Price policies, too, depend on the military's plans for war production after V-E Day, for experts say that to be safe, price controls must also be maintained until reconversion has reached the halfway mark. The actual time schedule for relinquishing rationing and price controls, therefore, has not been laid out. But the guiding principles have. Controls are to go gradually. The $100 billion in wartime savings waiting to be spent on new cars, houses and refrigerators, Chester Bowles warns, will create powerful pressure for higher prices against which the consumer must be protected. There are no precise criteria by which to decide that control is no longer needed in any particular field. "Premature removal of price ceilings can do more harm than holding them in effect a little longer than necessary. Whenever . . . in doubt, suspension of the ceiling is wiser than outright revocation."

The OPA's record for holding the line on prices is generally so good that most members of Congress, except for a few characters like Representatives Jessie Sumner (R., Ill.) and Howard Buffet (R., Neb.) find it difficult to launch a frontal attack on price control now. The current hearings on extension of the Price Control Act have been remarkably mild compared with other years. But careful observers say that the congressional opposition to economic stabilization knows that it cannot prevail now and is only biding its time until V-E Day and the public revolt against inflation controls which it believes will surely follow.

The anti-Administration bloc in Congress will be urged to abolish price ceilings by big farmers who want ceilings on what they buy but not on what they sell, and by that part of big business which has not yet learned that its survival depends on our achieving high levels of production and employment. The NAM still has not learned. Its March 18, 1945, *News* declared, "The current policy of OPA pricing for civilian goods threatens to be an even greater obstacle in the minds of manufacturers than the physical reconversion of industry, which was originally regarded as the primary bottleneck in the resumption of civilian production." At the same time, the NAM was refusing to join with the Chamber of Commerce, the CIO and the AFL in a joint code of labor-management principles.

Both the AFL and the CIO take the stand that government controls must go eventually, but that the process should be gradual and planned. Meanwhile, these two key groups have joined with the Chamber of Commerce in a postwar industrial charter, aimed at maximum production and employment. The labor-management committee provided for in the charter can be a real force in shaping the kind of reconversion policies to take us safely from war to peace, if its members want it to work.

Washington HELEN FULLER

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Students and the Peace

CAN AMERICA'S YOUTH buckle down to the problems of the peace as they have to those of the war? During the past three months the students at the University of Nebraska have been drafting an affirmative answer to this question in their Experimental Peace Conference.

It was among the students that the idea originated, and while there was faculty counsel all along, it was student interest and drive that put the project over so convincingly. From the beginning the conference stressed work, hard work, on the part of the 1,800 or more participating students. At university expense, each student house, representing some one of the United Nations or a pressure group, was given a supply of pamphlets and mimeographed chapters from books. The library set aside a sizable space for readings dealing with the peace, and soon became the most popular building on the campus.

When an instructor lectured in a regular class period on subjects relating to the peace, the room would be filled with student delegates to the conference who had not registered for the course. To give students the benefit of ideas from the outside, the university brought three speakers to the campus: Mr. John P. Young of the State Department, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde and Mr. Herbert Brownell Jr.

The conference did most of its work in twelve committees, of which five worked on territorial problems in Europe and Eastern Asia, while the remaining seven dealt, respectively, with world-security organization, war criminals, the treatment of Japan, the treatment of Germany, ethnic problems, economic questions, and colonies. These committees worked for weeks, using subcommittees, hearing spokesmen for interested nations or groups, and finally formulating their reports. These reports were submitted to two plenary sessions, where the more controversial issues were finally settled. Presiding over the debate at the first plenary session was Mr. C. P. Peterson, speaker of the Nebraska unicameral legislature, and at the second session, Chief Justice R. G. Simmons of the Nebraska Supreme Court.

The only spectacular aspect of the conference, unless it may be said that groups of from 10 to 75 students meeting all over the campus as committees, subcommittees, gatherings of small states and the like, are spectacular, was provided by the plenary sessions. These were held in the mammoth university coliseum, which presented a colorful spectacle with flags, posters and maps, many of them of the students' own design, decorating the stage and walls. National anthems were played by the university band as the delegations assembled by countries on the main floor and the spectators gathered in the balcony.

The peace treaty adopted by the conference at the second plenary session, on March 9, is a document of about 7,500 words, supplemented at many points by detailed provisions or annexes which were omitted from the published treaty to conserve space. It embodies many compromises between conflicting national groups. The delegates sincerely endeavored to ascertain and present the interests of the governments they represented, relying on official statements of policy when it was possible to find them. That personal views and opinions played a part, however, is evident from the labels, "realist" and "idealist," that came to be attached to certain delegates or countries.

The most heated controversy was on the question of voting in the Security Council. Russia, with the support of the large powers, insisted that punitive measures against an aggressor be undertaken only on the unanimous vote of the five permanent members of the Council, while the small states wanted to eliminate the vote of the accused and thus be able to apply sanctions against a great power. The fight was carried from committee No. 1 to the floor of the first plenary session, where the deadlock continued. Just a few hours before the final plenary session convened, a compromise was reached, accepting for a trial period of five years the plan of the small states, but with an understanding that military sanctions may be invoked only after economic sanctions have failed. At the end of five years there must be a special conference to consider the renewal of these rules.

Poland's boundary with Russia was the subject of bitter debate, both in committee and at the final plenary session. Poland battled for Lwow, Brest-Litovsk and Königsberg, but lost them all to Russia. With modifications of from five to eight kilometers, the Curzon Line was adopted, and Poland was given the western half of East Prussia to the gates of Königsberg, with her western frontier extended to the Oder.

The territorial settlement in Europe calls, *inter alia*, for the cession of Schleswig and Holstein to Denmark, an independent Austria, and the internationalization of Heligoland, the Kiel Canal, the Ruhr and the Rhineland. The rest of Germany shall remain a unit. Rumania was allowed to keep Transylvania; Bulgaria was given southern Dobrudja; and Salonika was made a free port. In Asia the treaty would set up an independent Korea and return Manchuria and Hong Kong to China, but would allow Great Britain a naval base at Hong Kong for ten years.

While in no sense extreme, the treaty may be looked upon as rather harsh. Its makers talked a great deal about a durable peace and they believed that such measures as the punishment of war criminals and the reëducation of enemy peoples would contribute to that end. Whatever its merits as an instrument of peace and justice—and certainly it is not beyond criticism—the treaty will stand as proof that the youth who fight also can and do think.

NORMAN HILL

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Washington Notes

Dumbarton Oaks, Reparations and Food

ON FEBRUARY 19 I WROTE in this column, "Steve Early will soon quite the White House to go into a highly paid private job." Mr. Early retired, and Jonathan Daniels was sworn in on March 29. I raise the subject again because it indicates more clearly than anything else that Franklin Delano Roosevelt does not plan, and is not going to seek, a fifth term. If there were any flicker of doubt on the subject, I think Mr. Early would have stayed with "the Boss," and, on the other hand, that the latter would not have let Steve go.

The delayed revelation of Russia's request that she be given three votes in the League Assembly, accepted by Roosevelt only with the provision that America also have three votes, created bewilderment, irritation and alarm, in about equal proportions, and put Secretary of State Stettinius in a terribly awkward position. The Assembly is little more than a debating society; it can only talk and recommend. Why Russia in these circumstances should seek three votes in the Assembly when she already has veto power in the Council, seems almost inexplicable. The delayed revelation gives a two-edged sword to gleeful isolationists: they can either attack the "three votes" of Russia or denounce the "six votes" of the British Empire. (On November 18, 1919, the Senate adopted, as one of its fourteen throat-cutting Lodge amendments, a reservation against plural voting, designed to limit the British Empire to a single vote.)

When the story broke, Mr. Stettinius had about as thorough a going-over by correspondents as this reporter has ever seen. He smiled gamely, took the written questions, made a brief, optimistic statement and retired, sweating profusely. Prompt Administration explanations are certainly in order. My guess is that the three-vote idea will be rejected and that the affair will blow over. But for the moment it is my disheartening duty to report that a bad jar has been dealt to the Dumbarton Oaks edifice.

Russia, Britain, France and America (for bargaining purposes at any rate) are going to ask reparations from Germany. This has all the earmarks of a grim, nasty, but necessary business of which, after five years, the American public will be good and tired. Discussions at Moscow start soon. It is already obvious that Germany cannot pay back "the cost of the war." The purpose of reparations is, therefore, to make what compensation is possible, teach Germans a lesson, and disarm them. After the last war we built up German factories to make reparations, leaving them the most modern in Europe, with loans from America which Germany then repudiated. Cardinal object now is first, to demilitarize Germany; second, to take reparations from her natural wealth—coal, lumber, iron ore, food—which will leave her actually poorer, the Allies richer. Germany's diet will be brought down to the level of the nations she has robbed, which won't be pleasant. But the real issue is forced labor. France thinks she wants German labor; Russia is certain of it. France demanded German labor to rebuild devastated areas after World War I, but soon got tired of it because of unemployment at home. The real question is whether the use of German forced labor, in Russia and elsewhere, is going to be under international supervision. This is vital. If there is no international control there is danger of slave labor, and it is hard to think of anything that would alienate American sentiment quicker.

By the time this appears in print the Administration will have made public the Combined Board's global food and meat figures. These, I understand, present to America one of the great moral challenges of the war. They entirely change the basis of domestic discussion. There is a world shortage so great that it makes the "meat shortage" in America and Britain seem petty. Will America stop complaining about minor discomforts and tighten her belt to aid other lands that are starving? That is the challenge. The Allied nations' excess of meat requirements over estimated supplies this year is *four and a half billion pounds*. Are the Americans and the British being abused? Official analysis shows Canadian civilians get about 3,200 calories a day, Americans 3,100, Britons, 2,900. From a dietary view these differences are unimportant, though the British diet is monotonous and ill balanced. But the Russian civilian ratio is estimated at 2,000, and Paris got only 1,290 calories last winter—a winter without coal. Conditions in other liberated areas are still worse. By contrast, American clamor over food "sacrifices" seems rather cheap.

One point should be noted. Though there is actual food shortage in Europe, it is accentuated by transportation and economic breakdown. Farm regions can't get their food to market. Starved cities exist side by side with hoarding farms.

Notes.—Top-command reorganization is being discussed after Germany's defeat, Eisenhower to take George Marshall's place as Chief-of-Staff in Washington, Marshall to go to the Pacific in a new post—supreme allied commander. . . . MacArthur, under this set-up, would have a lesser but important role on the Chinese mainland. . . . John L. Lewis ironically thanked the authors of the 1943 Smith-Connolly Act (aimed specifically at him) for requiring the government, at taxpayers' expense, to take a $300,000 strike vote in his behalf. Even labor-baiters now concede that this is one of the silliest laws ever passed over presidential veto. . . . A typical false economy move was the House Appropriations Committee elimination of $3 million for the Census Bureau to conduct a sample population census next year, needed for all sorts of state and federal planning; with luck the Senate may restore it. A majority of the House Ways and Means Committee favors dropping the vital International Monetary Fund program, polls indicate. . . . Henry Kaiser was the dynamic force bringing together AFL, CIO and the Chamber of Commerce in their hopeful new "industrial charter"; incidentally, Kaiser thinks auto management in Detroit is mishandling the labor situation. . . . Colonel McCormick, according to reports, planned a big *Tribune* drive to name a new Chicago airport after General Marshall; discovered in the nick of time that it would be called "Marshall Field."

Washington T. R. B.

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International Notes

East and West

HERE is just one case I have recently come across of the reactionary Chungking government's attempts to deceive world opinion and discredit the Chinese Communists. Tung Pi-wu, a former representative of the Communists in Chungking, has been appointed as one of China's ten delegates to the San Francisco conference. Tung Pi-wu, I am told, though an old revolutionary, has absolutely no special abilities which would justify his presence at the conference, nor does he speak any foreign language. But above all, he does not in any way represent the Communist government. On the contrary, the Communists in Yenan have protested to the Big Three Chungking's monopolizing of China's mission to the conference. They have also suggested that only a third of the delegation be composed of Chungking representatives, while the other two-thirds should be delegates of the Communist Party, the China Democratic Party and non-party people.

Filipino Partisans. – One of the strangest stories I have heard about the liberated Philippines tells of the disarming by the 37th Infantry Division of so-called "Communistic" Hukbahalap guerrillas. These "Huks" (People's Army against the Japanese) are allegedly rivals of the official Filipino guerrillas, whom they attacked in Tarlac and Pampanga Provinces in an attempt to seize power. American military authorities are reported to have discovered that "Huks" were taking over villages behind the lines and forming local governments. The situation, wrote Frank Kelley in the New York *Herald Tribune*, "is an explosive one. Filipinos have short tempers. American commanders cannot risk civil war along their supply and communications lines and have been forced to deal firmly with all factions." I wonder what is going on behind the veil of censorship.

A General's Farewell. – Some interesting light is thrown on the martial mentality of Japan's ruling caste by the following poem "respectfully offered for his Majesty's consideration" by General Tadamichi Kuribayashi, commander of the garrison on Iwo Jima, before he led his troops into a "final" charge:

> With ammunition exhausted,
> We regret we must go,
> Leaving undone our supreme task,
> For the defense of our fatherland.
>
> Eternal vigilance ours,
> We who fall on this spot,
> Shall be reborn seven times,
> To bear arms for our country again.
>
> Even when the green grass
> Carpets the isle again,
> We shall still be concerned
> For the fate of our empire.

Nazis Go Underground. – After the war we may have to deal with a wide network of underground Nazis. Sham funerals are now frequently held in Germany. Robert Leitner, assistant to Labor Front leader Ley, was buried on January 26, with Nazi dignitaries and Wehrmacht officers attending the ostentatious state funeral. But Leitner is still alive and active under the name of Georg Hanauer. Elite Guard Colonel Olaf Fickert had obituary notices published in the German press, but four weeks later he was seen in Barcelona, having adopted the name of Wilhelm Kleinert. Hitler Youth leader Hellmuth Moeckel was reported to have had a "fatal accident," but he is living with Alvarez Serrano, a Spanish student leader. Other Nazis are said to be living under assumed names in Buenos Aires after having "died" in Germany.

Resistance in Austria. – A reliable informant writes me about the situation in Austria:

> It is, indeed, as true today as it was over a year ago that the degree of active resistance in Austria lags behind the general feelings of hostility to the Germans. . . . Nevertheless, the degree of resistance has reached a much higher level. During the last few months two Austrian battalions were formed within the Yugoslav Army of Liberation. They wear their own national colors and are commanded by Austrian officers. . . . Further, there is now Partisan activity extending from the southern border regions of Carinthia and Styria to Upper Styria, Salzburg and the Tyrol. These activities have increasingly been coördinated by regional committees of the Austrian Freedom Front. Other forms of resistance have also become more widespread. They include acts of sabotage in the factories, the blowing up of railway bridges and the widespread evasion of Nazi regulations on the delivery of foodstuffs.

Rumania's Land Reform. – The new leftist Rumanian government seems to mean business. It has abolished absentee ownership under a sweeping land-reform law which envisages a redistribution of farming land in parcels up to twelve acres to landless peasants as well as the creation of state-owned model farms. The new holders are forbidden, according to the law, to "split, distribute, rent or mortgage, either in whole or in part" the land allotted to them. Under the law the state acquires title to all lands and chattels belonging to absentee landlords, German citizens, traitors, collaborationists, war criminals and those who have left the country since the armistice of last August. Also confiscated were individual holdings in excess of 124 acres if under cultivation, and in excess of 24 acres if uncultivated for the last seven years.

Notes. – A clandestine fascist, anti-Allied and anti-Semitic newspaper, *Tendances*, has made its appearance in Paris. . . . All partisan bands in northern Italy have been fused into a single army, the Corpo Volontari della Liberta. . . . Bulgaria has put on trial 183 fascists who committed war crimes in Bulgarian-occupied Greece and Yugoslavia. . . . The Free Germany Committee in Moscow declared in a radio broadcast that reparations in kind "will spare the German people the ominous aftermath of the last war with its long years of unemployment and excessive tax burdens." . . . The Italian Communist organ, *Unita*, recently featured on its front page the Pope's address condemning extreme nationalism, while the Catholic *Il Popolo* on the same day featured the text of a Communist declaration. . . . Georgi Dimitroff, ex-secretary of the Comintern and hero of the Reichstag fire trial, is back in Bulgaria. . . . The cost of restoring the Greek economy is estimated at $600 million.

E. L. P.

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Marvelous Tosh

The Barretts of Wimpole Street, by Rudolf Besier. Ethel Barrymore Theatre, March 26, 1945.

TO WRITE about this play that Miss Cornell by her own quality has turned almost into a classic seems somewhat foolish and extraneous. Yet the fact remains that the play itself is no more than second-rate. The movement of the action is poor and the point of the whole is highly dependent on the actress who undertakes the leading role.

My dear friend Julian Huxley, who knows a great deal besides biology, his special field, used to recite me specimens of Browning parodies—he said:

All was dark
In the Ark,
Not a spark—
Just God's fun.

There was another parody that was from Swinburne as I remember it (Swinburne wrote that heavenly parody of Wordsworth—"A Mr. Wilkinson, a clergyman")—it ran thus: Could God's rod bruise God's Jews? That is about the sum, so far as I at least think, of Mr. Browning as a poet or romantic figure in an ambitious play. As for this Besier British piece, it has a certain surefire quality—as must be plain from its history. For something in this play strikes fire and endures. It is curiously interesting after even so long a time. And it is curiously dark and significant, strangely personal and modern for all its air of smoothness and its uncertainty of approach.

To come down to brass tacks, the thing to say is that Miss Katharine Cornell is what makes this play lovely and compelling. She has lately taken it, as everybody knows, through the camps and outposts of our armies with great success. To this present performance in New York she brings what? Well this: A beautiful presence as if one were a beautiful instrument that is played in the orchestra; a sweet radiance; a glamor all one's own; a lovely quality of gentle goodness; a glow and grace; a real sweetness of nature.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

One reason why this country will not push the idea of trusteeships for all colonial areas is that the United States itself holds foreign possessions. It would object vigorously to any proposal to place Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands under an international trusteeship. – *UP dispatch from Washington.*

When the Berlin body [of the Volkssturm] was sworn in, the assortment of uniforms was so motley that a man who appeared in a full costume fresh from a performance of "Lohengrin" was not even conspicuous. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

To keep these [theatre and movie] prices under OPA control will not stave off inflation, or help to do so. Bowles's proposal goes against what has always seemed to us the sensible view of the matter; namely, that prices of luxuries in wartime should be uncontrolled, so that those who buy them at all will spend more on them and less on necessities, thereby taking off some of the pressure for higher prices for necessities. – *From an editorial in the New York* Daily News.

And Don't Mess with Mistress Inbetween

Here comes that wonderful Sorceress dress of ours to wheedle its way back into your life. And you're going to give it a rousing welcome because it's full where it should be, flat where it should be, with a marvelous low-and-behold neckline! – *From an advertisement of Russeks in the New York* World-Telegram.

Career Girl

HOUSEWORK, light, in home of playwright or movie magnate. – *Want ad in the New York* Times.

Last-Word Department

A round-table discussion on "War v. Art" was held at the meeting of the Tampa Civic Art Commission of Tampa. The consensus was that as long as there is war, there will be history, and as long as there is history, there will be art. – *From the Tampa* Morning Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Small Nations in the Postwar World

SIR: It is unfortunate that it has become customary to see a certain antagonism between the large and the small powers in regard to the future organization of the world. Perhaps this trend indicates that the loudly proclaimed sovereign equality of the various states is not so deeply and firmly rooted in our conscience as we would like to think. Yet there is hardly a serious thinker to be found who has advocated that countries should be given influence corresponding to their size, population, economic power, or whatever criteria might be chosen. The only condescension we grudgingly make to reality is the distinction between large and small powers which would prove very difficult to define exactly.

There is no doubt that if international organization is to be based on the sovereign equality of the various states, this principle should be applied as consistently as possible. On the other hand, all the mistakes of the League of Nations would be repeated if the element of power were not given sufficient weight to secure the peace of the world. The only objection one might have is that actual power relationships as they exist today are perpetuated without sufficient allowance for possible change.

In a note which the Netherlands government has submitted to the United Nations recently, it has objected to a certain vagueness in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. In Chapter II of the draft of the organization, it is stated that the members should undertake to settle their disputes in such a way that international peace and security are not endangered. The Netherlands government has pointed out that it attaches the highest value to the recognition of some acceptable standard of conduct in international affairs. If there is no standard, the door will be opened for an opportunistic attitude which may prefer an easy solution to a rightful one. What kind of standard is at the moment hard to decide, and the Dutch note merely sug-

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gests a reference to the feelings of right and wrong, the moral principles which live in every human heart. It also suggests the appointment of an independent body of eminent men from a suitable number of different countries, men known for their integrity and their experience in international affairs, who would be available to comment upon decisions of the Security Council whenever required to do so.

The main point, however, is the relation between the great powers and the small nations. Roughly speaking, the smaller nations of Europe represent about one-half of the people of the earth. Considering this, it would seem that they do not have the influence which they deserve.

On the Security Council, the four great powers and France would have permanent seats, while the General Assembly elects six states to fill the non-permanent seats. If decisions were to be taken on the basis of a majority vote, the result would be that the vote of a single small power would be enough to give the great powers a majority. In practice, one such vote would probably always be found, so that the decisions would always be those of the great powers. The Netherlands has suggested that some safeguard should be found on this point and that, for instance, the affirmative vote of at least three of the non-permanent members of the Security Council would be required.

As the matter of voting procedure in the Security Council is still unsettled, the misgivings of the smaller nations may prove to have been exaggerated. There is no doubt, however, that the relation between the General Assembly and the Security Council needs further clarification.

BARTHOLOMEW LANDHEER,
Chief of Research and Reference, the
New York City Netherlands Information Bureau

Life in Paris

SIR: Here I am at last in Paris. . . .

Our complaints last summer in London about having to collect our yearly ration book now seem like a fairy tale to me—since I have had a go at it here. A few days after my arrival I went to apply for it at the *mairie* (town hall), a huge and completely unheated place. Standing in a queue of about 50 women I started to talk to my neighbors, and found they were not all newcomers applying for ration-books, as I had imagined.

"*Mais non;* we have to apply for new ration books once a month," they explained.

I murmured apologetically that I did not yet know the ins and outs, having only just arrived from London.

When my turn came, the clerk looked pathetic and completely frozen: "Excuse me just a moment, please, my hands won't hold the pen any more; I shall have to sit on them for a while." The method seemed to serve its purpose, and about a minute later I was given the precious and very attractively colored "tickets."

I must say they are much prettier than our "counterfoils," only unfortunately they apply to a much more numerous list of articles. They were valid, according to type, for butter, margarine, oil, salt, meat, poultry, fish, offal, horse-flesh, potatoes, vegetables, pastes, jam, soap and coffee.

I was also given a sheet of miniature stamps for bread and a neatly folded card containing a sheet of paper divided into multi-colored squares—the clothing coupons.

My neighbor in the queue kindly volunteered the necessary information. "This card represents 20 points," she said. "They should last you for one year and enable you to buy your underwear, handkerchiefs, stockings, kitchen aprons, etc. A kitchen apron, for instance, represents nine coupons, so you see you will have to go easy on them."

"How many coupons should I have to give for a dress?" I asked.

"Oh, you cannot buy any outer clothing at all with that card," I was told, "or shoes either, for that matter. You will have to apply for a special '*bon*,' but it will almost certainly be refused. Still, there is no harm trying."

Following the arrow, "Room 537—Application for Shoes," I entered an office which was, if possible, even colder than the one I had just left. Three pretty but frozen young women stared at me in sheer amazement: "What on earth do you want?"

"A '*bon*' for shoes, please."

Three pairs of eyes scrutinized me closely.

"Refused."

"But why?" It was my turn to be surprised. "Because shoes are reserved for expectant mothers. Still, you can get some with wooden soles, without coupons." So that was that.

Yesterday I took my pretty counterfoils to a shop close by where one gets everything from salt to wine. The "registration" alone took about half an hour. For each counterfoil I was given a separate chit of paper bearing my name and a number. I had become Customer No. 609 for butter, No. 1,364 for salt, etc.

Feeling at last a worthy member of society, I proceeded to do my shopping: "My butter ration, please."

"Butter? We have not distributed any for—let me see—six or eight weeks."

"But when there is some, how much is one entitled to per person?"

"That depends on the supplies—last time it was 1½ ounces. But here is your margarine." I was handed a tiny package containing about four ounces; no other kind of fat was to be had.

"How long is that supposed to last me?" I asked.

"Until the next distribution, and if this cold weather continues it may well be quite a few weeks. You can have your salt ration today; where is your container?"

I had not brought one. "You ought to in future, but I will give you some paper for this time. Have you brought a bottle for your wine?" This time I was unlucky: "Too bad, I can't let you have one. No bottle—no wine.

"Eggs? No, there aren't any just now; you will be notified by the press when we shall want you to hand in your egg coupon so that we can apply to the wholesale trade. After that you will be notified again by the press that the supplies have arrived—the interval may be anything between two days and two months. When they do arrive you had better watch out for the numbers we display in our windows; they correspond with the numbers on customers' counterfoils so that we can serve everybody in turn. Once your number turns up you had better hurry, otherwise your coupon may become invalid."

Seeing my increasingly anxious face, the assistant said brightly: "Don't you worry, dear; it sounds very complicated, but we all had to get accustomed to it. Little food though there is, at least we know it is all for us. Not so long ago the best part of it went to feed the Germans. It will soon be spring now, and everything will improve then."

Encouraged by this optimistic view, I asked timidly: "And what do I have to do about milk, biscuits, chocolate, and even beer. . . ?"

"Why, nothing, of course; the three items you mentioned first are all reserved for the children and the sick, while beer is available only to nursing mothers!"

I shall have to stop writing now, my fingers are getting quite stiff with the cold; it is just 4 p.m. and getting dark, but I shall have to wait another hour for light and heat, as the electric current won't come on till five. Look after yourself and don't let the queue at the grocer's annoy you again.

Paris EDITH VINE

[*This letter appeared originally in the London* Daily Telegraph *and is reprinted by permission of that paper.*—THE EDITORS]

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Americans, Nazis and Germans

SIR: You may be interested in the following excerpt from the letter of an American soldier somewhere in France, as indicative of what our men who are fighting the Germans think of their opponents.

New York City A. N. D.

[ENCLOSURE]

Somewhere in France

The hardest thing for me to do over here has been to keep hate from my mind. Certain things have happened that have made me want to hate the Germans with bitterness, but it is just this attitude that causes wars and there is little hope of peace if we cannot keep our self-control. But when all this is over, it will be essential for us to remember that the present German soldier is as fanatical as any Jap, and that his hatred of everything we consider good is unbelievably strong. If we forget these things at the peace table, we will simply be sowing the seeds of another war. Germans must be dealt with with force, not kindness, because it is the only thing they understand in their present condition.

The individual cannot be blamed. He has been brought up with limited and controlled sources of knowledge, but it is true that almost every German between the ages of 13 and 90 hates us and everything about us. It is hard to believe and harder still not to return that hate, particularly under battle fatigue. More men over here every day forget their better dictates and swear undying hatred for Germans—not Nazis—*Germans*. How can they live in this small world with a people who are beasts unless they accept them as such and act accordingly? And how can they act accordingly and ever again be rational in their thoughts of those they have fought against? Some of these men will return holding that hatred in their hearts. They will be met by those who have not known—or have refused to believe—the German brutalities and want an easy peace, who will cry "Atlantic Charter, Justice, Tolerance." Then those with hate in their hearts will answer "Kill them! Cut Germany into little pieces," etc. But there are others, too, who will come home with the hope that they have established a secure world and that they will eventually see a peaceful Germany contributing to that world. And these men, following what seems to me to be the only way to future peace, may find themselves drowned out by these other groups unless we are strong of conviction and voice. May God give those who believe in a lasting peace the strength to insist on it—to demand it.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

We have a letter of approximately 1,200 words from the Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Thorning of St. Mary's Rectory, Rockville, Maryland, commenting on the article "Catholics and Latin America," by Dr. Samuel Guy Inman (the *New Republic*, February 26). As might be expected from Dr. Thorning, a well known conservative Catholic propagandist, he takes vigorous exception to Dr. Inman's article.

Dr. Inman quoted Dr. Thorning as follows:

> The American republics will have no faith in an alliance without the benefit of clergy. Our good neighbors of this hemisphere can be gained for all time by the *Sacrament* of friendship. The mystical body of Christ is a potential and infinite force.

Dr. Thorning says that what he actually wrote is as follows:

> A knowledge of the Catholic spirit will be accepted as a guarantee that this is no extemporaneous wooing. The American republics regard with suspicion a temporary alliance, without benefit of clergy! Our good neighbors in the Western Hemisphere can be won for all time by the sacrament of friendship. The Mystical Body of Christ is a potential of infinite strength. It can be the solvent of all problems.

Dr. Thorning says that "obviously, the clause, 'without benefit of clergy,' in its context was used in a figurative, not a literal sense, emphasizing the importance of spiritual values, whether prompted by lay people or clergymen."

Dr. Thorning further charges that Dr. Inman misspelled the names of two Latin Americans in his article, and repudiates the action of the Cultural Attaché of an American Embassy in Latin America, a Roman Catholic, who spoke "as though embassy funds belonged to him personally." He denies that the State Department chooses Catholics to come from Latin America to the United States to lecture, saying that the State Department chooses good men, and it just happens that some of them are Catholics. Dr. Thorning believes that the real danger in Latin America is "leftist, Marxist activity," which "is not only a challenge; it is a reproach to those in North America who believe in God, whether they be Protestant, Jewish or Catholic. Dialectical materialism has nothing to offer to our Good Neighbors, save destruction. The spirit quickeneth!"

Dr. Inman, to whom Dr. Thorning's criticism was submitted, says in general that he stands by his statements in his article. He says that he tried hard to find the original English text of Dr. Thorning's statement which he quoted, was unable to do so, and retranslated it from the Spanish. He feels comparison of the two versions shows that he did Dr. Thorning no injustice.

J. Louis Warm, of Cincinnati, Ohio, writes to us about our editorial, "A Compromise for Palestine" [March 19]. He says, "Your concern for the Arabs is pathetic. . . . The Jews were promised Palestine and a trusteeship was established to carry out that promise. . . . Roosevelt and Churchill have temporized on this matter until it has become a macabre joke. . . . What the United Nations do in the way of carrying out the mandate with reference to Palestine will, it seems to me, be a sample of how far they are willing to go in solving the other pressing problems which confront the world."

Five hundred farm workers' families are threatened with eviction from the Delmo Labor Homes Projects in southeast Missouri. The War Food Administration is about to turn the project over to the Farm Security Administration, under pressure from the Farm Bureau and the large planters of the area. Under the law the FSA would have no alternative but to liquidate the project. The Rev. David S. Burgess of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches, Memphis, Tennessee, writes to us urging that those interested in the plight of these workers write to their congressmen about it, and that contributions be sent to William Johnson, Tenant Committee, Box 2, Wardell, Missouri.

The Tresca Reward Committee, Room 210, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City 16, has offered a $5,000 reward for information leading to apprehension and conviction of those responsible for the death of Carlo Tresca, crusading anti-fascist editor. The offer will expire on January 11, 1947, fourth anniversary of Tresca's murder. Morris Ernst is chairman of the reward committee.

Dean J. M. Landis, of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, sends us a copy of a pamphlet recently issued by the Law School, containing a suggested list of reading for servicemen who may be thinking of a postwar legal career. The Law School will send the pamphlet free to any serviceman who asks for it.

April 9-15 will be National Sharecroppers' Week. The National Sharecroppers' Fund, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York City 18, is supporting financially such organizations as the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the Southern Electoral Reform League, and through the latter has been instrumental in opposing the poll tax, recently repealed in Georgia. The Fund welcomes contributions for the welfare of Southern sharecroppers.

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Books in Review

Books for Soldiers

THE AMERICAN ARMY which is fighting this war has the highest standard of education, judged by number of years of formal schooling, that has ever been known. It is also the best-read American army in history, thanks largely to "Editions for the Armed Services, Inc.," a joint project of the army, the navy and the Council on Books in Wartime. Through this enterprise, American soldiers overseas, plus those in hospitals in the United States, get free of charge a practically unlimited quantity of books—books old and new, serious and frivolous, informative or escapist. They are printed in clear, legible type, on reasonably good stock, with bright-colored paper covers. Their size is 6½ x 4½ inches, bound along the narrow edge and printed two columns to the page. The format is an efficient one for the printer, and it also makes a volume which a soldier can carry in his pocket without sacrificing his trim military appearance. They are now being published at a rate of more than 70 million a year.

The Council on Books in Wartime is a coöperative enterprise of the book-publishing trade, operating on a non-profit basis in liaison with the Army Special Services and the Bureau of Navy Personnel. Books are selected for "Editions for the Armed Services, Inc.," by a special committee of authors, publishers and educators. The author of the book gets a small royalty, and the initial printing in each case is 140,000 copies. (If a book proves popular, there is of course no reason why it should not be reprinted any necessary number of times.) The Council turns over the books to the army or navy, which sees that they are distributed to men and women in uniform, as indicated above. When a packet of books arrives at any post, the service men and women help themselves to whatever suits their fancy. After a book has been read, it is normally passed along to someone else or returned to the post library for additional circulation. Almost never is a volume read by fewer than two or three people, and some popular titles have passed through more than twenty hands.

The advisory committee which picks out books for the armed services is careful to give the soldiers what they want, and not what somebody thinks might be good for them. The emphasis is on entertainment rather than improvement, though the Council stands ready to add informative works at any indication that they are really desired. The army is a cross section of the civilian population and naturally it reads almost precisely the same sorts of books, in the same proportions, as does any other body of predominantly young, predominantly male, citizens. The two most popular categories are contemporary fiction and books of humor. Historical novels also rank high, and so do murder mysteries and Westerns. Of the books published in the first year and a half (the enterprise was started in September, 1943) more than a quarter were novels, 15 percent humor, about 10 percent biography and autobiography. There is a small but steady demand for poetry, and the Council has taken to publishing each month a specially selected anthology of the work of some one poet, living or dead. Some of the other classifications and the number of titles in each that had been produced up to the beginning of 1945 are: drama, 3; self-help and inspiration, 4; current affairs, 11; aviation, 6; sports, 10; history, 13; science, 15; nature and animals, 5; music and the arts, 2; foreign countries and travel, 27; sea stories and the navy, 19; fantasy, 11; adventure, 15; classics, 19. The classics include some of the standard works that are studied in high school; it has been found that a good many men want to reread these books with which they are already somewhat familiar or which they feel should be part of the background of every cultured individual.

If "Editions for the Armed Services" did no more than provide good reading matter, and plenty of it, for those who already had the reading habit when they went into the army, this would be a sound and useful enterprise. In fact, however, it goes far beyond this: it is teaching literally millions of Americans to read books, many of them good books, who never read anything before except newspapers, and in them chiefly the comic strips. Indeed, these volumes may be making some inroads on the ubiquitous "comic books" which, as so many observers remarked, were the chief and almost the only thing that soldiers read in the training camps in the early days of the war.

The letters now being received by the Council on Books in Wartime indicate this clearly. While most of them come from people to whom books have always been important, some are written by soldiers who, as one of them says, "never cracked a book" in their lives. One soldier tells of reading aloud from a book of humor to green recruits huddled in a foxhole undergoing their baptism of fire, and thereby relieving nervous tension. Another man wrote that his platoon took over a front-line position in the dead of night, and the man whom he relieved, whose face he never saw, put a volume of the Armed Services Editions into his hand before leaving. There are numerous testimonies to the value of these books in helping to relieve the boredom of the endless waiting which constitutes the greater part of all life in the armed services.

The Council on Books in Wartime, because of its semi-official nature, does not talk much about the books which are most popular, beyond saying that soldier taste on the whole parallels that of the civilian population. Some light is shed on this problem by a private commercial enterprise, Pocket Books, which sells large numbers of its inexpensive editions to service men and women, especially in camps in the United States, where the Armed Services volumes do not circulate. Pocket Books reports that its 10 most wanted items are, in the order given: *The Pocket Dictionary*, Zola's *Nana*, *The Pocket Book of Cartoons*, *See Here, Private Hargrove*, *The Pocket Book of Verse*, *The Pocket Book of Boners*, a murder mystery, *The Case of the Curious Bride*, by Erle Stanley Gardner, a book of short stories, *Damon Runyon Favorites*, another murder mystery by Ellery Queen, and *Lost Horizon*, by James Hilton.

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For generations before this war, professional hand-wringers used to wring their hands because the Americans read so few books. We were far ahead of the rest of the world in reading magazines (many of which, of course, offer novels as serials); but we had no equivalent for the huge numbers of inexpensive books read by the French and Germans, to name two examples. A trend in America toward publishing and reading large numbers of books in inexpensive editions had already set in, before the war began. There seems no doubt that "Editions for the Armed Services" has given a mighty impetus to that movement.

BRUCE BLIVEN

Dark Legend

The Ballad and the Source, by Rosamond Lehmann. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 312 pages. $2.75.

IF I MAY GROW autobiographical for a moment, Miss Lehmann's new novel no doubt possesses a particular impact for me through sheer contrast. For the last year and a half of wartime residence in the Far East, chiefly in China, my reading had consisted almost exclusively of comparatively ponderous political works contemplating Oriental and other topical matters, varied by an occasional detective story for relaxation. After so essentially stolid a literary regimen, there was bound to be something particularly impressive about the effect on one of an artistry so graceful and an imagination so sensitive as are to be found in *The Ballad and the Source*.

Obviously it is not necessary to have experienced any such contrast to find Miss Lehmann's work strikingly effective and beautifully wrought. I bring up the matter here only in the conviction that if these contemplations on a book destined for great and deserved popularity are to have any value, it might be for one particular reason. It could be because there is a certain interest in reporting the reactions to a highly civilized Western novel of a reviewer recently returned from wartime preoccupations in the most distant and civilized of Eastern lands. Anyway, whatever the basis of judgment may be, Miss Lehmann's new Book-of-the-Month novel is a distinguished success.

Although there are reverberations of the First World War in the later sections of *The Ballad and the Source*, the concerns of history, power politics and the future of the world could not be farther away. To this extent it is both timeless and escapist. Putting away any thought of an existence that screams total war at us, it is preoccupied with the most sensitive matters of character and perception and with subtle and intangible human relationships and the effect of strong mind and emotion upon delicate spirits exposed to them. It is among the interesting extraneous things of the novel that it should come to us from Britain, which has known the sort of constant and inescapable spell of death and destruction in a fashion we have happily escaped.

There are times when *The Ballad and the Source* has a disturbing way of calling to mind both *A Lost Lady* and *East Lynne*, although it is a little unfair to all concerned to say so. Miss Lehmann's work is too original in concept to warrant such a suggestion, even though it is helpful in trying to suggest something of its narrative. What it is—to suggest roughly a tale that has no hint of roughness about it—is the picture of a very lovely and possibly sinister lady, and the devastation for which she may be responsible, as seen through the eyes of a sensitive and admiring child. To make it slightly more complicated in the description, the child has actually seen but little of this great lady in action, and knows of her chiefly through the reports of various friends who pour out their hearts to her.

There is an almost Oriental indirectness about all of this. The fascinating lost lady who dominates the tale is clearly an enchanting person, but you learn this amid many a hint of sinister implications, and the trail she leaves behind her is one of selfishness and tragedy. It is one of the great achievements of the book that, although it is anything but a direct reportorial account, it does present the evidence for a verdict on a woman, rather than that verdict itself. What Mrs. Jardine really is—save for the inescapable fact that she is a fascinating and ageless lady who would win any sensible man's romantic admiration—each reader will gather or suspect for himself, according to his lights and his very personal emotions. She spreads evil and she does it against a background of graciousness and beauty, and in the end it is up to you to decide which aspect triumphs.

Here again the specialized verdict of a reviewer recently returned from the Orient emerges. It is quite possible that one of the reasons why Mrs. Jardine seems so interesting to me is that there is a certain quality of the Chinese lady about her, and as any sensible man knows, there is no more alluring femininity in the world. The properly exciting Chinese lady is, in appearance, fragile and exquisite,

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- "Vivid and powerful."—*Indianapolis Sunday Star.*
- "Genuinely thought stirring."—*Springfield Union.*

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but under that deceptive façade there is a tough and determined spirit. This Mrs. Jardine has all the beauty and all the danger of such a combination, and that makes for a true *femme fatale* of literature, without the cheapness such characters usually possess in current fiction.

It is one of the virtues of *The Ballad and the Source* that this central character—I would hesitate to call her either heroine or villainess—is not by any means the only impressively drawn figure in the narrative. There is, in particular, Mrs. Jardine's daughter, Ianthe, who turns out to be most convincing evidence that the mother is an evil woman. Ianthe's somewhat melodramatic doom is the indirect but inescapable result of her mother's independence, arrogance, charm and selfishness. Like all of the people of the narrative she is seen through a thin and delicate screen of the imagination—the child narrator has never laid eyes on Ianthe—and an air of neurotic mystery surrounds her, but there is a strange and terrible vividness about her, too.

Of all the people who are brought into perilous contact with the lost Mrs. Jardine, the only one who fails to succumb to the lady's fascination is Ianthe's daughter, Maisie, and Miss Lehmann's treatment of her is among the novel's chief successes. The author is particularly effective in making this gawky and rather unattractive child first seem as dull and churlish as she appears to her grandmother, and then slowly revealing her as the one person in the family strong and determined enough to resist and to understand. In a very different fashion, the sketch of pretty little Cherry, Ianthe's ill fated younger daughter, is equally successful as a creation.

Miss Lehmann employs a tricky and dangerous device in presenting this sinister family portrait through the eyes of a sensitive child who is the granddaughter of the enigmatic Mrs. Jardine's most treasured friend. To make so youthful and immature a girl the narrator of a story so subtle and oblique and so concerned with the intangibilities of character offered one particular peril: that the whole fabric of the narrative should collapse through the fatal lack of the will to believe on the part of the reader. It is one of Miss Lehmann's greatest triumphs that she not only makes the child narrator completely convincing as a person perceptive enough to have sensed the meaning of the drama and to have set it down, but decidedly charming and sympathetic in her own right.

This is a distinctly feminine novel and the men who appear in it are comparatively dim as contrasted with the vivid yet mysterious women who play its central roles. It seemed to me, too, that there is a certain neurotic quality about it and the slightly unhealthy air of a civilization and a class suffering from spiritual ill health. These characteristics add to the disturbing quality of the book, and they are a very definite part of its great fascination. For *The Ballad and the Source* is, make no mistake about it, a beautiful, impressive and strangely moving romantic novel by one of the important writing talents of our time.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

A Journalist's Russia

Russia Is No Riddle, by Edmund Stevens. New York: Greenberg, Publisher. 300 pages. $3.

EDMUND STEVENS was the envy of all the other American correspondents in Moscow last year. He was the most adept linguist we knew. He was married to a Russian wife and lived with a Russian mother-in-law. He went to Russian parties, met all kinds of Russians, and prided himself on the fact that he was not one of the Metropole Hotel set who got most of their news from *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. Because of his skill with the language, he was several times asked to serve as interpreter for official visitors, and performed this function for Churchill, Harriman and Wendell Willkie, thereby getting much closer to several big news stories than the other correspondents.

All of us expected that when Steve sat down to write his book he would produce the best stuff since the early Duranty days. Unfortunately, this is not the case. He has written a good, honest, episodic, slightly pedestrian book about such matters as daily life in Moscow, some of the changes in Russian society as a result of war, the various stages in Russia's developing foreign policy, several diplomatic parties, and his brief visits to unblockaded Leningrad, the scene of the Katyn Forest massacre, the Kharkov atrocity trial, the first slice of Soviet-occupied Rumania and the American air bases in the Ukraine. But his book lacks insight. It is just another correspondent's book. You will find in it little to impress upon you the realization that last year was the year of assured victory for the Russians after many defeats, and that it was a year of great suffering and great rejoicing, great confidence and great suspicions, great energy and great weariness.

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The closest the author comes to the problem of changing human values in Soviet society is his "story of failure and success" about the Volkov brothers, Fyodor and Vlas, two of his oldest Russian friends. Fyodor, held back by a cautious wife, a sort of female Oblomov in modern setting, is destined to obscurity in the face of limitless opportunity, while Vlas, a good cameraman, became a whopping success by all the new Soviet standards, such as being able to bring back two trunkfuls of clothing from the Balkan states, "including quantities of silk stockings." The brothers would make a novel; they are certainly more interesting than a Molotov reception or the correspondents' Christmas party.

Within the limits of what he has chosen to write, however, Mr. Stevens provides a welcome addition to the literature dedicated to Soviet-American understanding. His title, which he probably did not select, is somewhat presumptuous, but even if the rest of the book were trash—and it is not—he does a distinct public service in getting at one of the roots of the present bitter enmity between Moscow and the Polish emigré government in London. Probably from his brief close association with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Stevens reports, apparently for the first time, that in 1942 General Wladyslaw Anders told Churchill that by the end of the summer Germany would be beyond the Volga and the decision in the war would have been reached. On this basis, Anders received Churchill's backing for his proposal to take out of Russia his Soviet-trained and equipped army of 75,000 Poles. The result was the tragic Polish exodus to Iran and other faraway places, while in Moscow General Sigmund Berling began from scratch in building a second Polish army. This latter army crossed the Bug with Rokossovsky last July, and it is now the controlling force in liberated Poland and the strong right arm of the Lublin-Warsaw government.

On his way to Russia last year, Mr. Stevens stopped in Teheran and of course visited the Polish camp near there. Noticing that he had a camera, the camp commandant one day came to him and offered to pose for him pictures of "how terrible our people look when they come out of Russia . . . anything you like." A few months later, however, Mr. Stevens visited the Polish military camp in the Soviet Ukraine, together with Professor Oscar Lange of the University of Chicago. He met Berling and the other Polish leaders. More, he and Dr. Lange talked at great length with scores of Polish troops, and found that while they wanted "a strong, democratic and independent Poland" and agrarian reform, they were adamant against collectivization and against too much Soviet influence. Most of them burned with zeal to see Lwow restored to Poland. In short, they seemed to be true Poles.

His trips to the Ukraine also gave Mr. Stevens the chance to do some good reporting on the effects of German occupation there. He makes no bones about the fact that in Kharkov, where the Germans brought in carloads of luxury loot from Western Europe, they demoralized a goodly section of the population by restoring private trade, encouraging speculation and the black market and making some inroads into the loyalty of such strata as the domestic servants. But by and large, the Germans committed a major error in their occupation strategy by retaining the Ukrainian collectives, under the mistaken impression that large-scale agriculture would provide them more food than a return to small farming. Sabotage was the result. "In practically every village there were families that had harbored grievances against the Soviets ever since the time of mass collectivization and the expropriation of the well-to-do peasants," Mr. Stevens accurately reports. "Had the Germans restored to such elements their former lands and possessions, they would have gained a certain political and economic foothold in the countryside." As it was, their agrarian policy failed.

Mr. Stevens pays too little attention to Ukrainian nationalism, although it is in part the reason for the Soviet insistence on Lwow, and barely mentions in passing the "Russian Army of Liberation" formed by the renegade General Vlasov. This is strange, because he went to Minsk after its liberation and the rest of us there heard the full story of the use of these Vlasov Cossacks in the occupation of the Byelorussian capital. He also does not mention the fact that the strange death of General Vatutin is generally attributed in the Soviet Union to a bomb thrown by a Ukrainian Nationalist in Kiev.

When he comes to the changes in the Soviet social structure caused by the war, Mr. Stevens is a bit ingenuous in ascribing the official campaign to popularize the family, and the revision in the marriage and divorce laws, to a spontaneous "revival of romance." It seemed to the rest of us that these moves were sheer necessity to compensate for the awful blood-letting of the war (which the censor, also favoring the romance theory, failed to let us report adequately), for as Mr. Stevens points out in one of his most poignant passages, all Moscow was filled with

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maimed and wounded, hobbling about on crutches, while among the few Russian families we knew, as among those Mr. Stevens presumably knew, the loss of four, five, six and even ten men on the battlefield was not a rare occurrence.

To get to the Soviet Union's relations with other countries, it is a truism to say that the Russians now admire America and Americans intensely and try to imitate us in many ways. But Mr. Stevens puts his finger on a serious barrier to understanding with which all of us came into contact every day and which quickly turned gray the hair of the OWI staff in Moscow. The Russians were only too familiar with our technical textbooks and Sears-Roebuck catalogues, but actually they know practically nothing about life in America.

As Mr. Stevens points out, "There are no serious works or textbooks in the Russian language on American history, government or institutions; nor are these subjects included in the Soviet curriculum save in the most cursory fashion and in strictly Marxist interpretations." Yet the Soviet Encyclopedia Institute has recently produced a 464-page reference book called *The British Empire*, which despite its obvious faults is a useful and necessary work. This in a sense reflects the success of British "propaganda" in Moscow, largely through the Ministry of Information's weekly *Britansky Soyuznik*, and the woeful failure of our own OWI efforts.

"Russia is no riddle," it may be true enough, but we still need a few more keys. ALEXANDER KENDRICK

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Figure of the Renascence

American Chronicle: The Autobiography of Ray Stannard Baker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 531 pages. $3.50.

"PROBABLY the chief value of autobiography lies in its indiscretions," writes Ray Stannard Baker, and the reader expects the last third of these memoirs to run away with the book. For the last third concerns Woodrow Wilson, and Baker, the President's labor eyes and ears during World War I, his press chief at the Versailles Conference and his authorized biographer, knows more about Wilson than any man alive. The Baker account does have revealing flashes, as when Wilson, depressed by provisions which Germanophobes insisted upon writing into the treaty, remarked: "If I were a German, I think I should never sign it." But, in general, the pages on Wilson are unexciting reading and there are few important facts not already published in Baker's previous writings or in the writings of other men. Baker admires Wilson so fervidly that he uses little reportorial freedom, not to say indiscretion, in describing the President's actions.

The Wilson section is the less interesting by contrast with the preceding pages, which offer a rich documentation of the early, dawn-world psychology of modern American liberalism. As a young reporter, Baker sloshed along with Coxey's ragamuffin army, excited by the discovery of powerful discontents. He watched huge, red-bearded William T. Stead lash Chicago with a tract called *If Christ Came to Chicago*, and then hurry home to London, leaving the scourging to Jesus and the Civic Federation. He went into the homes of Eugene Debs's striking Pullman workers and saw such suffering that his articles provoked a flood of unsolicited relief checks. Young Baker was overwhelmed by the feeling "that people, after all, were wonderfully decent, all kinds of people, if only you could get to them."

Bigger opportunities of getting to them came in the form of an invitation to join S. S. McClure's staff of brilliant young dissidents in New York. Baker soon saw his own muckraking articles helping to make public policy, soon learned to distrust slick moralizing even when it was performed by a President of the United States (he presents the most conclusive evidence yet of Theodore Roosevelt's deceit in dealing with the muckrakers). Baker also found that genuinely human reform writing presents no psychological bar to writing that ignores politicians and businessmen. It was while muckraking the Negro problem that he began publishing, under the name of David Grayson, the famous rural essays that spoke his delight in apple trees, tulips and bees. Looking back on it all from his seventy-five years, Baker sees turn-of-the-century reformism "as the American Renascence, even the Great American Renascence." A renascence it surely was, gusty, hopeful, fact-minded, avid for answers and skeptical of anybody who claimed to have found one. One day in 1904 Lincoln Steffens caught up the spirit of the renascence and put it in a parable which he told to Baker:

"Satan and I," said Steffens, "were walking down Fifth Avenue together when we saw a man stop suddenly and pick a piece of Living Truth right out of the air.

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"Doesn't that worry you?" Steff said he asked Satan. "Don't you know it is enough to destroy you?"

"Yes," said Satan, "but I'm not worried. That's a beautiful truth now, but the man who caught it will name it, and then he will organize it, and by that time it will be dead. If he would let it live, and live it, it would destroy me. No, I'm not worried."

These skeptical pages, so leery of moralizing, so insistent that generalizations be splintered into who gets what, provide a curious background for the worship of Wilson that closes Baker's memoirs. Rigid, intellectualized, an abstractionist and a moralist, Wilson was hardly an exemplar of the renascence spirit; he named many truths, and organized them too. Probably Baker himself gives the explanation in the passage in which he writes of the unconcern over foreign affairs of himself and of most of his colleagues in their formative years. Half a century ago American liberalism learned to demand more than abstractions in domestic affairs. It is just beginning, for the most part, to demand more than abstractions in foreign affairs. ERIC F. GOLDMAN

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Inside Germany

Civil Life in Wartime Germany, by Max Seydewitz. New York: The Viking Press. 448 pages. $3.50.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION which is being frequently asked now is: "What kind of human material will we find in Germany?" It is an important question because, whatever plans are being made for dealing with the country, the fate of Germany will ultimately depend on the Germans themselves. And while in the current discussion the "moral redemption" of the German people bulks large, most of the discussion takes place in a vacuum. We have no objective knowledge of the state of mind of the Germans. The reports that have come to us from occupied western Germany indicate that, while most Germans encountered there seem bewildered and politically apathetic, the only articulate elements are either Nazi fellow travelers, especially businessmen, or former members of the old Social Democratic and Communist Parties. The fact that the AMG tried to deal with the first group has already been publicized, with the result that changes in German personnel were forced sooner than might have been hoped for. This has been due as much to criticism in Britain and in this country of the AMG's unfortunate policy as to complaints by genuinely anti-Nazi, leftist Germans.

Max Seydewitz, a political exile who followed various phases of development inside wartime Germany —politics, morale, manpower, etc.— is not only optimistic about the existence of a large anti-Nazi opposition but convinced that the great majority of the German people are anti-Nazi. By the end of the fourth year of the war, he writes, "from 70 to 80 percent of the people must have been against the National Socialist dictatorship and in favor of ending the war." His estimate is based on official German sources, chiefly newspapers, and not on any possible underground information he might have. Consequently, his apparently categorical assertions sound like a case of special pleading by a sincere German anti-fascist whose desire to return to his homeland makes him engage in exaggerated wishful thinking. Of opponents to the Nazi regime Seydewitz mentions only the names of those who participated in the student opposition at Munich University in 1943 and in the military plot of July, 1944. While I would like to believe that his estimates are true, I am not convinced of the magnitude of the anti-Nazi opposition. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility of the existence of a politically reliable anti-Nazi nucleus, or of revolutionary mass action immediately before and after the military defeat of the Nazi regime. H. E.

A Reader's List

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Governor ELLIS ARNALL
of Georgia

The South's most dynamic chief executive writes in next week's *New Republic* on the historic Supreme Court promise to consider the case involving discriminatory freight rates which have throttled industrial development in the Southern states. Don't miss it.

position to supply more home gadgets not too long after the war, the editors try to determine the probable demand for heating equipment, cooking apparatus, refrigerators and laundry machines. Design, installation and technical problems are also discussed. Technical matters that concern British homes may seem a bit strange to Americans, but they do show what Britain needs and wants. The editors warn that some order of priority will have to be followed; basic reconstruction must precede the chromium-plated vacuum cleaner. The pamphlet is a model for the kind of research that might be done here. Then, perhaps, reality would prick the dream world of the magazine advertisements.

NEW WORLD OF MACHINES, by Harland Manchester (Random, $3). We will have to wait until the end of the war before we can get the full facts about many advances in science made during the last ten years. In the meantime, however, a considerable amount of definite information is available about new prime movers such as the gas turbine, new materials such as synthetic gasoline, rubber, plastics and glass, new farm machinery, flying machines, photographic devices and even synthetic meats. This is just a portion of the information which the author has brought together in simple and attractive form.

I SPEAK FOR JOE DOAKES, by Roy F. Bergengren (Harpers, $2). Mr. Bergengren is the managing director of the Credit Union National Association, Inc., in which capacity he has helped to bring more than 3,500 credit unions into existence. His main theme is economic progress for the world's millions of working people which he believes can be achieved by national and international coöperation. The experiences of the credit union and the consumer coöperative movement are explained at length in support of the proposition that they provide the basis for postwar economic abundance and its attendant cultural growth.

GENERALS IN THE WHITE HOUSE, by Dorothy Burne Goebel and Julius Goebel Jr. (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75). Every major American war has produced one or more strong White House aspirants from the ranks of the military. However, of the nine General-Presidents portrayed here only five were professional soldiers, and the relevance of military experience to civil administration is not kept in the foreground as a consistent theme. A serious sociological study of the impact of militarism on presidential politics, including all major figures whose military achievements were their chief political stock-in-trade, would have permanent value and interest. But this book merely uses the General-Presidents as an excuse for a superficial survey of familiar military and political history. Often the great failing of history books that are planned to be "timely" is that they have little other merit.

Contributors

JOHN PERRY, formerly special assistant to the Director of Foreign Agricultural Relations and Acting Chief of the Food Branch of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, is now a business consultant specializing in food matters.

PAUL A. SAMUELSON, an associate professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, is now on leave to do technical war work. He formerly served as consultant on postwar planning to the National Resources Planning Board.

ELLEN MARSH is a young writer who has lived both in America and Europe. Her first novel, *Drink to the Hunted*, will be published by Dutton in May.

NORMAN HILL, professor of International Law and Relations at the University of Nebraska, is the author, among other books, of *Claims to Territory*, just published by the Oxford University Press.

RICHARD WATTS JR., former dramatic critic of the New York *Herald Tribune*, was a foreign correspondent for that paper in the Far East, Russia and Spain. He headed the Office of War Information in Dublin in 1942-43 and recently resigned as editor-in-chief of the same organization in China, where he spent a year.

ALEXANDER KENDRICK was the Moscow correspondent of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in 1944. A former Nieman Fellow, he is now covering international affairs in Washington for his paper, preparatory to going abroad again.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN is completing a book on modern American liberalism which centers on the period during which Ray Stannard Baker was most active.

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